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CONTENTS

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POLITICAL

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

New Law-and-Order Awareness Urged	1
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Editor's Memoir Criticizes SED Cultural Policy	2
--	---

POLAND

Ambassador to Soviet Union on Parameters of Cooperation	8
POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup	11
Former Adviser on Compromise, Solidarity Role During Martial Law	14
Opinion Polls: Popular Belief in Reform at All-Time Low	17
Public Opinion Polls, Press Reviewed on Cadre Policy, Problems	18
Party Activities Calendar 29 February-13 March 1988	21
Party Activities Calendar 14-27 March 1988	23
Party Identity Compromised by Social Democrat, 'Coalition' Party Ideas	25
Gdansk, Warsaw PZPR Training Schools' Cooperation	26
PZPR Columnist on National Role in Building Socialism	26
PZPR Voivodship Plenums Reported	28
Territorial Self-Rule Promoted	28
Cadre Policy Issues Discussed	28
Housing, Investment Issues Viewed	30
'Selective' Reform Support Noted	31
More 'Open' Party Meetings	31
Konin on Growth, Youth Issues	32
Positive Results in Szczecin	32
Difficult Rural Conditions Noted	33
PZPR Lecturers Prepare for People's Councils Elections	33
PZPR Research Institute on Working Class Issues Lengthy Report	33
Need for New Association Law Discussed	35
Consumer Federation Activist Favors Expansion of Group's Concerns	36
Aleksandrowicz on Fiscal Health of Shipyards, Steel Mills	38
Economic, Social Realities Viewed as Cause for Popular Discontent	39
Percentage Breakdowns of Class, Worker Structure; Prognosis Noted	42
Wage-Scale Vagaries: Sacrificing the Intelligentsia	46
New PRON Publication Editorial Statement Notes Goals, Intentions	49

ROMANIA

Lenin's Opposition to 'Cliched' Applications of Marxism Noted	51
---	----

ECONOMIC

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Doubts About Economic Reform Voiced [Jacqueline Henard; Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 3 May 88]	52
---	----

POLAND

Direct Enterprise Contacts Expand Polish-Soviet Export Possibilities	53
Hungarian Official for Religious Affairs Visits	54
Domestic Trade Minister Plans To Expand Contacts With Cuba	54
Economic Talks With Somalia	55
International, Economic Talks With Tanzania	55
NBP Credit Regulations Spur Opposition	55
Self-Management Consultative Group in State Enterprises	56
Planning Commission Instructions	56
Mandate, Tasks Noted	58
ZSMP Official Meets With Military Reservists	59
Head of Katowice Data-Processing Firm Describes Offerings, Potential	59

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

New Law-and-Order Awareness Urged
24000084 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
31 Mar 88 p 1

[Text] Under no circumstances should socialist democracy be confused with anarchy, license, or a kind of do-as-you-please approach to one's duties. On the contrary, it is characteristically a balanced application of rights and duties in combination, an organic synthesis of independence and accountability, freedom and discipline. Preservation of the legal order and the moral norms of society, fortifying socialist law and order, provides the foundation for democracy. It is the vigorous campaign against violations of socialist law and order which expands the citizens' assurances that their rights and freedoms will not be abridged.

Statutory provisions establish the most important social relationships. They make it possible to prescribe the legal liabilities of those who evade their duties or violate the law directly. Use of the coercive power of the state, however, is only one side of the coin. The role of the citizens' socialist legal awareness is even more significant in enforcing the laws and other statutory provisions.

This means citizens consciously respecting the statutory provisions and personally taking an active part in seeing them applied in practice. This is a significant goal which will require much time and effort to attain. The facts demonstrate that, especially in the last few years, certain manifestations in our society, certain disproportions and, especially often, glaring contradictions, of words and deeds, have decidedly not helped to affirm the workers' faith in the rule of law, in which are rooted, among other things, the principles of social justice.

This has been confirmed by the reports the public prosecutors of the republics presented to the National Executive last fall. Despite all appropriate measures, the status of law and order did not improve in the preceding period. For example, the public prosecutor of the Czech Socialist Republic reported that there had not been a substantial reduction in the number of statutory infractions—not in punishable crimes, nor in violations of regulations pertaining to the disposition of records of socialist property, nor in infractions of work rules, of regulations regarding maintaining apartments, correct driving, and other statutory provisions, particularly as far as these provisions respect the interests and rights of citizens.

What does this mean? Legal awareness has not developed sufficiently or at a pace adequate for the present level of our society's development, or for future requirements. We must consider more carefully certain rash decisions, authored by some who, in the process of reconstruction, had pinned all their hopes on new statutory provisions. There certainly have been many such

decisions. More fully elaborated laws will continue to be just wishful thinking if the one who is to follow them does not wish to understand them and does not take them to heart.

The causes of the most serious infractions of socialist law and order and the circumstances of their occurrence are known. Ostensibly, nothing prevents their removal. And, yet, after these long years, this has not been accomplished. It is therefore naive to assume that, with a new economic mechanism, a dangerous offense like pilfering socialist property will just disappear, that bribery will end, or that the many different attempts to obtain unregulated and unearned income will vanish. On the contrary, it will become necessary to reckon with the emergence of "experts" who will want to exploit the new economic conditions primarily for the sake of getting rich quickly; who will "stir up the muck" in order to obtain, as far as possible without greater exertions, a higher standard of living.

In the future as before, but with renewed and greater emphasis, it will remain true that order, discipline, and accountability form the basis of the successful organization of community life, primarily of the economy. The principle that no one is exempt from the law must be stated very forcefully and—considering these many unpleasant experiences—even urgently. Much was said on this subject in the letter to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to the party organs and organizations which addressed the need for intensifying operations in the struggle against encroachments on the bases of socialist order, morale, and discipline. It urged a more forceful effort against negative manifestations, attempts to acquire unearned income, corruption, the abuse of office, etc.

A person's attitude toward the law does not develop straightforwardly, without conflict, but through many and varied tests, guided, in many cases, by experience. The necessary accumulation of knowledge is an obvious factor. Our citizen has a place to acquire information, to turn for advice, to seek legal assistance. Furthermore, with the expansion of democracy and public knowledge, he has and will continue to have ever-expanding opportunities to contribute to the ongoing legal reform by adding his opinion, thanks to timely reporting on the preparations in progress. This is an important development, without question positively affecting not only knowledge of the law but also the creation of legal awareness.

Certain incidents have raised doubts as to whether the laws apply to everyone. How is it possible that this or that person can for years operate a side line using "salvaged material" and nothing happens to him? Why is a particular person able to build a cottage where building has been prohibited for years? Why should a black-market money changer, averse to honest work, receive an income many times greater than that of an

honest laborer? Do such well-founded doubts serve to affirm confidence in our legal order and, by extension, our socialist state? Decidedly not. For this reason, the 7th Session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party has, in the spirit of the Letter of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, called for a more scrupulous campaign against negative manifestations. At the same time, we must not permit anyone to silence or harass those who cannot countenance deficiencies and point out abuses.

In a socialist society the sole source of wealth must be honest work. It is the duty of the socialist state to create a firm awareness that anti-social activity does not pay. All honest people expect it. Hence the source of the lively speculation on such questions as whether the fight against bribery will be more effective than it has been; whether it will be possible in the future, by some means, to demand that the newly rich reveal the source of their gains; whether we will, in light of our experience with the current statutory provisions, still suffer the money changers operating in front of Tuzex shops, and so forth. These concerns surely are not easily addressed. They are perhaps, as far as a certain circle of specialists is concerned, oversimplified and inexpertly expressed. They exist all the same and we cannot pretend not to hear them, not to see them.

Legal norms obviously do not apply solely to us, the citizen. They are binding on state, economic, and social organs and organizations. For these institutions, socialist law and order must form the permanent, basic method of operations. It is necessary to respect the laws, enforce their observance, and be directed by them. Often, however, it happens that public servants, though necessarily well-versed in the regulations, do not know how to deal with people; they act officious, insensitively assessing citizens' problems, making their decisions, albeit in the context of the law, entirely formally. Superiority and an unwillingness to concern themselves with commonplace citizens' concerns can lead to infractions of the code.

The 7th Session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party responded to these problems as well when it took under consideration a proposal that a citizen should have the opportunity to request a court review of a decision by an administrative organ. It is also necessary to consider allowing for more severe legal remedies against officials who cause citizens harm by violating the law in the course of their work.

Law reflects the needs of society; it is irreplaceable in the realization of comprehensive social objectives. It is in the interest of socialist society substantially to influence the attitude of citizens and the activity of the socialist organizations so as to help remove the obstacles preventing further development. Much, therefore, depends on as many citizens as possible consciously and voluntarily

following the laws and regulations. Forming this legal awareness is one of the primary tasks of all state and economic organs and social organizations.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Editor's Memoir Criticizes SED Cultural Policy
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[Article by Guenther Deicke, editor at the Verlag der Nation, former editor of NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR: "On My Years as an NDL Editor"]

[Text] We went right into the midst of things. With the special issue late in 1952 (on the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution) we had announced our future existence, by printing Lenin's essay "Party Organization and Party Literature" we had indicated an ideological program (there had even been two supplementary editions of that issue), and now, as if drawing from rich experience, we were publishing NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR.

That, however, could only be the kind of experience that fell within the span of what was possible. Willi Bredel, the editor in chief, actually was able to supply it, having edited in Moscow, during emigration, the journal DAS WORT (which included Heinrich Mann, Georg Lukacs, Bertolt Brecht, Anna Seghers, and Lion Feuchtwanger among its contributors). We two young people, on the other hand, were beginners whom Willi had picked with a divining rod from among a hundred or so candidates. Having been at one time a comrade of Ernst Thaelmann and participant in the Hamburg uprising, a fighter in Spain, and, next to Erich Weinert and Walter Ulbricht, a front agitator during the battle for Stalingrad, Bredel evidently operated in such partisan fashion. He had not known either Guenther Cwojdrak or me previously. Cwojdrak was a literary critic on radio and with his unconventional opinions and reviews had appealed to Bredel's polemical vein. I was a reader at the Aufbau-Verlag at the time and, along with Uwe Berger and Helmut Hauptmann, one of Max Schroeder's young people. As a young author I had come from the (by then exemplary) working group of Franz Hammer and had worked in Weimar for 3 years as the cultural editor and theater critic of a daily paper. But that was not the reason why he hired me. Actually I knew him at that time only from the elevator of the Aufbau-Verlag. Since he was short and stocky and always wore a wide-brim hat, it was a pleasure of a special kind when, eager for contact, he threw his head back and spoke to one of his young fellow passengers—Noll or Berger or me. (Elevators were slower then than they are now.) Bredel, not only the originator of the Aufbau-Verlag, was the editor (head of the editorial collective) of the Bibliothek fortschrittlicher deutscher Schriftsteller [Library of Progressive German Writers], a series published by the Aufbau-Verlag whose

purpose it was, above all, to comprise and republish, because they were needed, the classic authors of the progressive literature of our century banned during the time of fascism. So far it all had gone smoothly, but now he had run into difficulties. As the last one in this series, he wanted to present a representative of the up-and-coming young socialist literature of the present, the proletarian poet Kurt Barthel, who called himself "Kuba." His "Gedicht vom Menschen" [Poem About Man] had aroused great enthusiasm among the young but also provoked rejection among the older generation for two downright contrary reasons. The generation that had grown up with Alexander Schroeder and Weinheber was bound to regard the poem as rebellious (which, in fact, it was meant to be) and as literary anarchism and simply rejected it and showed no further interest in it. And the staff of the cultural apparatus, brought up in a climate of dogmatic rules for a supposedly socialist-realist literature, was irritated: The direction was right, but there appeared to be something wrong with the form (formalism?). I was present at a stormy debate with young people in Jena during which one of the critics of Kuba, driven into a corner by the host of disciples of the new poet, resorted to a quotation: Lenin, on being asked for his opinion about Mayakovskiy, had replied that he preferred Pushkin. This, though, made Kuba the new Mayakovskiy—rightly, quite rightly so! I was one of the admirers of Kuba and at that time even worked with him—in a poet collective (which also included Wiens and Fuehmann) whose task it was to supply (!) lyrics for the 1951 World Festival of Youth and Students. That is a separate subject and does not seem to be relevant here. Yet also the newly founded journal NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR was based on the thesis that it was possible to produce literature (art) in the service of a national cause or cause of mankind—at any rate, a socialist cause. And indeed every revolution, the bourgeois one of 1789 and the proletarian one of 1917, put that in motion impressively, demonstrating that politically commissioned art can even come up with topnotch products (J.L. David; Mayakovskiy) if the social mission agrees with the personal one. That can hardly be ordered by decree, however. In other words, Bredel did not find among the critics or literary scholars within his reach anyone prepared to write for him an afterword to an anthology of Kuba's poems until one of his staff, the secretary of the mentioned series, thought of me and gave me a biographical sketch composed by Kuba himself for whatever use I wanted to put it to. I wrote the afterword within a week, and this prompted Bredel spontaneously to offer me the post of second editor.

In these areas, too, people perforce operated in a climate of short supply during the first postwar decade. In other words, if someone showed promise, he was given the job and could acquire the qualifications on the side. "Es waechst der Mensch mit seinen groessern Zwecken" [Man grows as he is faced with greater tasks (Schiller)].

In the preparatory stage we conducted talks with Becher, Weinert, Marchwitza, and Kuba to arrive at a concept

for the journal, which as the organ of the newly founded German Writers Union could equally serve the activity of the union and its impact among the public.

Some of what we then came up with during the first year of the journal was not worth the printer's ink, even though we pretentiously exhibited our beginner's noise as a literary workshop, calling on any and all to collaborate. The fact that this was also understood, was not accepted by many, but was taken seriously to the extent of providing us with critical objections (which we confidently printed, countered, or acknowledged) can only be explained in terms of an era in which a majority showed itself to be determined to grasp the opportunity of a radical reversal of the social order: "Raus aus den Truemmern und was Neues hingebaut" [Get out of the ruins and build something new!]. The national question was still open—for many years to come, as far as we were concerned—but the socialist idea on the territory of the German Democratic Republic already was beyond question.

In other words, our journal already was a pronounced GDR product, having seen the light of day in the very process of the splitting of the nation—at a time when it already became difficult to stand with one foot in the East and with the other one in the West. As yet we advocated, with remarkable stamina, the need for political reunification in a democratic antifascist state—advocated absolute unity of a German culture on a pluralistic basis. The first separate German state after World War II had been the Federal Republic of Germany, founded under the leadership of Adenauer and cemented as a separate economy with a currency reform. The first armed force on the newly demilitarized political soil of Germany was the Bundeswehr [Federal Armed Forces], and it was engagingly naive of us in a commentary of our journal to offer asylum in the GDR to any young FRG citizen who did not want to become a soldier.

The German Democratic Republic was fully justified still to advocate all-German claims, having through its founding expressly professed its support for a democratic antifascist order. (The young poet Heinz Winfried Sabais—who at the time was editor in chief of the Rudolstadt Greifenverlag and a member of the Working Group of Young Authors in Thuringia, had already come out with two volumes of poems and was receiving active support from Becher and Huchel—was seriously reprimanded for having published a hymn to the young state with the emphatic exclamation "My greetings to you, German workers republic!" This, he was told, did not—or not yet—correspond to the political facts.)

Everything was still in the melting pot. Though differences became apparent at a very early stage, there were still crossings, lines of communication, and contacts—more or less firm, more or less loose. The Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands [Cultural League for the Democratic Renewal of Germany],

founded on Becher's initiative already in the early summer of 1945, was meant for all of Germany, just as his monthly AUFBAU sought to comprise a broad alliance of antifascist creative artists and intellectuals. There was a journal, published by Alfred Kantorowicz and Maximilian Scheer, with the significant name OST UND WEST [East and West]. The journal SINN UND FORM, founded by Becher and Wiegler (like the German Academy of the Arts, whose organ it was), in any case, in a broad sense, was supranationally oriented. When the International PEN Club, which the writers of fascist Germany had jointly quit, met at its conference in Zurich in 1947, it was Thomas Mann and Johannes R. Becher who managed to prevail with the demand for the founding and readmittance of a German PEN Center, with Johannes R. Becher, Hermann Friedmann, and Erich Kaestner becoming chairmen in line with the tripartite Germany of that time. When the West German members founded a center of their own in 1952, the PEN Center, by then located in East Berlin, continued until 1967 as the German PEN Center East and West, largely with members from the GDR but also with a few members from West Berlin and the FRG. The international character of this writers association made it possible for the "German question" to "continue as open" the longest—almost to the point of absurdity. The wheel of history cannot be turned back. That is neither a meaningless phrase nor an assertion made for propaganda purposes but the experience of history. In fact the wall of 1961 ("antifascist rampart"), praised over here and damned over there, leaving aside entirely pragmatic, calculable reasons, was a defensive wall against the arrogant attempt to reverse history in the form of a transatlantic imperialism which wanted to annex again what it had lost in 1917. It is the global conflict of our century; Thomas Mann already called it the "fundamental foolishness of our era." Once having come into being in accordance with the laws of history, socialism, even if shaken by bad crises of growth, can no longer be deleted from the people's possibilities of existence or the consciousness of mankind.

We started out when all these problems slowly began to simmer in the German pot.

In the first years after 1945, the Protective Association of German Authors, regardless of zonal boundaries, had still been the social and legal representative of German writers, just as the First German Writers Congress of 1947 had been an all-German one which in many contributions, such as Ricarda Huch's moving address and Becher's great speech, pleaded the cause of the unifying element in downright irrefutable fashion. A short time thereafter, with the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the ban of the Cultural League in West Berlin, there began the cold war in the cultural field. It was to last for years and also was to cast its shadow over our journal for the first few years. If one reads our commentaries on this subject today, one gets the impression that we were standing with our legs spread on ice floes that were drifting apart, trying to keep them together after all. We

tried not to lose sight of literary developments in the FRG, to cultivate contacts with the Stuttgart "Kultur," the "Kogge," the Bodensee-Club, Boell, Andersch, Group 47... (But how embarrassed and snubbed we were then in West Berlin at the Group 47 conference site, when we were not admitted and were told to wait for the intermission, during which Wolfgang Weyrauch made a date with us in East Berlin, which then was not kept! Only Ingeborg Bachmann showed her deep embarrassment. And 10 years later any contacts between GDR authors and Group 47 would be considered almost traitorous.)

In the middle of the first year of our journal there occurred the events of the 17th of June. Kuba, then secretary general of the German Writers Union, in dealing with this crisis delivered a speech which includes an interesting definition (interesting as far as writers and their work in the union was concerned): "As far as we are concerned, German unity means that we must break through the isolation separating us from our West German colleagues, that we must expand our base ideologically and organizationally and guarantee an unrestricted choice of topics, and must not permit any restricting of the method of creation or any uniform criticism."

A year later, in July 1954, there occurred the first Wartburg meet of German poets and writers, called by authors of Marxist and Christian philosophy from both German states. The second (and unfortunately last) meeting in May of the following year became an important event to a significant extent because of Georg Maurer's great address "Concerning the Lasting Element in Poetry." There was one thing, at any rate, that these poet conferences had demonstrated: that it is possible to be united in dispute, and in dispute to find what unites one.

Nevertheless, and despite the magnanimous offers by our leading politicians, Walter Ulbricht and Otto Grotewohl, to the leading statesmen of West Germany to get together on major questions—which we noted and welcomed in our commentaries—the drifting apart of the two German states could not be prevented.

Late in 1955, the term "isolation" again came to the fore. In a poll preparatory to the Fourth German Writers Congress entitled "The Writers and Their Congress," Eduard Zak stated: "Nothing is needed more than to turn the congress into a forum about the literary situation in all of Germany. There exists only an all-German literature, within which the literature in our republic can take up a position of a kind of outpost. The main danger threatening it, and thus its national value, is the same as for any outpost: isolation... The progressive content can protect against provincialism only if it leads to works which can speak to the entire nation."

That was perhaps one of the basic contradictory conditions under which in the 1950's and 1960's we developed a literature which was to be a national as well as a

socialist literature—something that could not be managed without discrepancies in accordance with the given theoretically developed patterns. (The term "socialist national literature" perhaps shared the blame for the emergence of the false, or at least careless, term of "socialist nation.") At that time already, we were becoming more and more conscious of the fact that a divided nation was bound to develop in different directions. An early confirmation of this was Weiskopf's article about the danger of linguistic alienation entitled "East German and West German."

Those years were chock-full of debates about literature and politics, about the substantive, esthetic, and ideological categories of socialist realism, about the pros and cons of critical realism, about the assumption of heritage, about criticism and theory.

With the dilettante *modus operandi* which marked the first year of our journal, we would hardly have been able to cope with this set of problems. Our experience as journalists stood us in good stead in composing the topical columns, but of course we wanted more. We wanted something that was not yet feasible, something that could not be managed just like that—a current socialist literature derived from concrete life and intended to affect concrete life. Fetching drafts of manuscripts from publishing houses or from authors direct, we put extensive passages up for discussion. And we did so with considerable success, consistently being able to print only a fraction of the contributions, whose criteria often were just as amateurish as the literary samples. We called it the "workshop way." But at the end of the first year we had to admit that we had failed. As an author, Bredel himself battled with problems of creative form and was self-conscious. He did, however, protect our rear.

Weiskopf's joining the editorial staff put an end to the phase of trial and error, of an insecurity more than offset by pronounced *elan*. One has to read Weiskopf's contributions in the NDL (but one also ought to have heard him in the cultural policy debates of those days, one ought to have witnessed the magic and sparkling intelligence of his personality) to appreciate how it was possible to qualify for their task (the editing of the journal of the Writers Union) almost from one day to the next, on the job, young people with average talent who were intensely committed to the cause. The relation to topical issues was preserved—through an even further expanded proportion of glosses and marginalia and through far more sovereign action in the form of editorial-like commentaries on topical issues composed and signed by the editors and backed by the entire editorial staff. Weiskopf, who as an emigrant and, after the war, ambassador of the CSR in the United States, Sweden, and China was a man truly experienced in international affairs, knew how to motivate authors of international literary rank to make contributions. At the same time, there appeared on our pages new names of persons of topnotch talent—Christa and Gerhard Wolf, Hermann Kant, Manfred

Bieler, Guenter Kunert, Heiner Mueller... Thus our journal also reflected the consolidation of the German Writers Union, its enrichment with new talent. What we had begun in as yet inadequate attempts and then abandoned again, namely to turn current issues (socialist building) into literature with a compressor—presented naively by beginners and spread by experienced writers in reportage style (Hans Marchwitza's "Roheisen," Willi Bredel's "Die Enkel")—all of a sudden, also because of more defined artistic criteria, achieved freer narrative structures and a new individuality. The above-quoted warning by Eduard Zak did not come from a vacuum, but young scholars of literature also had just become aware of it. Read the reviews by Christa Wolf, Gerhard Wolf, Eva Braun (Eva Strittmatter), Irmtraud Morgner....

Subject to errors. Of course, one can now *ex post facto* demonstrate to us every instance of stupidity, and really should do so in order that we may learn from it—not to apportion blame but rather based on a sense of history, a sense of literary history. Even an internationally experienced author such as Anna Seghers, knowledgeable about world literature, struggled with the stereotypes in the theory of socialist realism ("the typical," "positive hero," "revolutionary romanticism," and so forth). We who were less experienced tried to bring theory and affect into accord, arriving at wrong subjective assessments, recited in the chest tones of conviction and, if possible, supported by authoritative quotations. These assessments, we regret to this day. (We would have to regret them if they had shown any effect, if in the end they did not signal the actual insignificance of such organs as far as literary priorities were concerned. What really was of value, to our shame went its own way without us.) To cite just one example. In No 10/1954 I reviewed the anthology "Engriffenes Dasein" by Holthusen and Kemp, taking exception, among other things, to the kind of "surrealism...practiced by the 34-year-old (and presumably highly-gifted) Paul Celan" and quoting six lines of his poem—which I still find thrilling—which starts with the grandiose line "Ein Knirschen von eisernen Schuhn ist im Kirschbaum" [there is a crunching of iron shoes in the cherry tree]. I revised my opinion on my own when some years later I read Celan's "Todesfuge."

So what is the use of such literary journals?

Anyway, the way we handled the NDL under F.C.W. was apt to show literature as a live movement, to make it visible, and to make it possible to react to it in the intended way. The literature of the German Democratic Republic as a new state in every respect was detaching itself from its pronounced beginnings and began consolidating. With Strittmatter's "Tinko," the first year had ended promisingly, and Brecht's "Tage der Kommune" inaugurated the new one. Thus socialist literature, having been born on the soil of the first socialist German state, had established itself as art. Whatever we might come up with in the future would have to be measured by such examples.

Of some significance was the formation of a ministry of culture—a novelty in that in most countries culture is part of Kultus [culture, education, and religious affairs], of which a minister for people's education is in charge, with arts and sciences relegated to a subordinate role. It was a good omen that the minister was a poet, and at that a poet of Becher's political and artistic rank. It certainly was unintentional and coincidental, but it was a striking way (early in 1954) of once more confirming Germany's contradictory situation: Becher, from Munich, from a middle-class family, who had become a communist while a university student in Jena, had become famous in Berlin, and had returned from Soviet exile, where in poems of nostalgia he had cherished the whole [in italics] of Germany, became minister of culture of a partial state, which he could hardly have longed for in that form, a Germany without Tuebingen, without the Lautertal, without Munich, without Fuessen, but a state which he accepted as the only time-bound possibility of historical progress of Germany.

From the start, Becher had aimed at a consistent policy of alliance in the cultural sphere, in the Cultural League, practicing it later as minister, without ever calling in question the principles of socialist building. On the contrary, the utility of these principles was tested and demonstrated for every citizen, including those of different origin and with a different philosophy.

It was a time of extremes, of extreme attitudes—often also in one and the same personage. Later generations will be more relaxed in their judgment than we who witnessed it all and shared in executing it. Stalin's death (1953) and the 20th CPSU Congress (1956) occurred during the first decade of the NDL. The special issue we came out with on Stalin's death, marked by the shock at the time (who still remembers the hours during the demonstration of mourning past the Stalin monument in Berlin, in what was then called Stalinallee [Stalin Boulevard])?—this special issue, one reads with embarrassment today, after the 20th party congress, and certainly after the corrections of current historiography under Gorbachev's program of glasnost. It is not the sincerity of most contributors that is in doubt (even after the revelations of the 20th party congress I heard many people, also from the middle classes, say, "All right—but he did liberate us from fascism; that remains!"), but at least some of the obituary writers even then knew more about the ominous role Stalin had played as an autocrat—as the czars had before Lenin), surrounded by a retinue which had made every abuse of power possible. Friedrich Wolf, for instance, had been affected sporadically; his friend Vzevolod Vizhnevskiy had got him out of prison. I recall a telephone conversation Bredel had conducted with Becher—in his sarcastic way: "Have you read the paper?—Well?—Have you not yet searched your conscience?" And his mischievous laughter. I remember Hermlin's sonnet published in SONNTAG in which he tried to balance Stalin's historical achievements and personal crimes. (Later he did not have it

published any longer, though it would be an estimable document and probably also of considerable poetical value.)

Bredel knew Becher's weaknesses, and also his fears, down to cowardice. (But did he himself defend Trude Richter and Hans Guenther and quite a number of others?) Evidence of Becher's fears: "Macbeth toetet den Schlaf" [Macbeth Murders Sleep]. Bredel never made any statement about that period, and then battled with Weinter and Ulbricht at Stalingrad. We do not have the right to judge, let alone condemn, here. The errors of those years are legion, and we find them in the case of Weiskopf, Brecht, and Anna Seghers...Chances are that only those who stayed on the sidelines remained unscathed and uninvolved; those working on changing the world also erred. Georg Lukacs, for example: depending on where one's enthusiasm lies, one calls the October uprising of 1956 in Budapest a revolution or a counterrevolution. (But Lukacs was no counterrevolutionary, and neither was Tibor Dery. And the marauders who turned lanterns into gallows were no revolutionaries.)

The world was in motion; the world is in motion. And I am now amazed that the 20th CPSU Congress, which had caused such excitement, was reflected in our NDL (which had commented courageously on the struggles of the day in quite a number of instances) only moderately, and actually always only indirectly.

And this happened when there was quite a bit of excitement. I remember a debate in the Cultural League (which perhaps was never reflected in the minutes, with people talking informally throughout) during which Wolfgang Harich and Alfred Kurella were engaged in violent controversy. Harich described Zhdanov, the leading esthetic expert of the Stalin era, as a functionary without any appreciation of the arts. Kurella countered that Zhdanov had been a wonderful pianist. Harich asked what had driven Fadeyev to suicide, and Kurella shouted, "The juice!" (Alcoholism is caused in various ways, however.)

There was also quite a bit of excitement in the Western Hemisphere. Was it a coincidence that precisely at that time, when the socialist system was involved in the most acute internal debate so far and was beginning to free itself of the cancerous damage of the personality cult, the German Federal Republic banned the KPD, one of the traditional mass parties of the prefascist democracy which had put up the strongest resistance to fascism and had made the most sacrifices? Where we not justified in assuming that this was precisely the result of the rejections of all our efforts (including those of our journal) for understanding?

Today it appears to me that it was difficult to size up the international situation (when communist parties had also split or had quit the Comintern). All that is reflected

only indistinctly in the NDL, with the transition to the literary problem occurring swiftly but not without an impression having been made.

An exact detailed historical analysis of all these events (without regard to propaganda needs) still remains to be made, also in the field of cultural policy. For instance, it would be quite intriguing to contrast the cultural policies in the two German states in the late 1950's: decadence was condemned, and a sound world praised, on the basis of different systems—in the case of Ehrhard-Schroeder-Wuermeling as well as in the case of Alexander Abusch.

It is worth noting the efforts of Alfred Kurella, who not only was outstanding as a cultural policy strategist but also (despite his speech handicap, he was a fiery debater), in his capacity of first director of the Literary Institute, was so well versed in concrete action as to be able to organize the development of literature with young authors such as Christa Wolf, Bernhard Seeger, Brigitte Reimann, Siegfried Pitschmann, and Werner Baeunig in a manner recalling general staff procedures.

Those were already the authors of the 1960's—something new qualitatively speaking. Personality again self-confidently asserted its right.

We beginners of the 1950's had developed under the auspices of the collective, had attempted in a joint effort to develop a popular art, an art "which moves the masses." Our successes were limited. The new authors who now put in an appearance and determined the character of the sixth decade, were again capable, under the impact of the discussions in the second half of the 1950's, of expressing a "strong I" (as Georg Maurer put it), and the first great upswing of our literature occurred. As far as I recall, it was marked by Peter Hack's Aristophanes adaptation "Der Frieden" [Peace] of 1962, Erwin Strittmatter's "Ole Bienkopp" and Christa Wolf's "Der geteilte Himmel" [Divided Heaven], both of 1963, Hermann Kant's "Die Aula" [The Assembly Hall], and Erik Neutsch's "Spur der Steine" [Trace of Rocks], both of 1964, Volker Braun's first poems, a collection of which appeared in 1965, and Wolf Bierman's provocative songs.

What had happened?

It is a fact that the safeguarding of our state border toward the west in August 1961 brought new freedoms as well as painful personal conflicts. The delimitation, which ran counter to all previous (unsuccessful) intentions but manifestly was unavoidable, managed to open up new opportunities of domestic policies—for example, to initiate and test socialist economic processes and by building a society of performance also to develop a socialist self-confidence. In the sphere of policy governing the arts, however, there developed an ominous misunderstanding. The authors had utilized the development of socialist relationships, now far less prone to breakdown, to track down internal problems of the

young socialist state and to make contradictions of that kind visible and artistically fruitful in poems, stories, films, and television plays. That occurred against the coincidental background of the international Kafka congress at Liblice near Prague in 1963, at which the wrong people (Ernst Fischer, Eduard Goldstuecker) had arrived at the right conclusion that there existed alienation in socialism too—a conclusion which is confirmed precisely in the 1980's throughout the system to a downright extraordinary degree! The open confrontation between creative artists and cultural policy people finally ended up in the 11th Plenum of the SED Central Committee late in 1965, which finally became the starting point of the great cultural policy crisis of the GDR. That lies outside the era under our review.

The process of growth of a German literature marked by a socialist philosophy, which can be gleaned from the issues of the journal published in its first 10 years, and its advance to a position of international reputation did not occur without any obstacles, without conflicts, without setbacks and painful losses. And considerable obstacles originated with us, with the spheres of dogmatism and schematism of state authorities and of their leading people by the nose in a manner showing no understanding for the arts—state authorities which suspected a counterrevolution in any social criticism, taking actions ranging to the passing of judgment and even caused creative artists such as Guenter Kunert, Heiner Mueller, and Tragelehn to get into serious material difficulties, which in part were offset by colleagues of theirs and, in the end, by FRG publishers.

That is not a minor matter but signals a new situation in the edifice of German national literature, which here can only be hinted at very lightly and needs to be thoroughly analyzed in terms of creative arts policy. It was precisely the authors subjected to the most violent official criticism (Kuner, Kirsch, Bieler, Biermann, Christa Wolf, Heiner Mueller) who thus escaped the latent danger of provincialism and created works that aroused great international attention.

Despite the fact that these questions were dealt with in the course of their development (silently or in rounds of debate with the Cultural Department of the SED Central Committee) and that wrong decisions were corrected—even in a more far-reaching way than one would suspect in reading the halfhearted and propagandistically colored presentation in volume 11 of "Geschichte der Literatur" [History of German Literature]—a review of these discussions, important for the development of socialist literature, has yet to be conducted. What is needed here is not assignments of blame; what is needed, pure and simple, is to establish the truth, accurately to describe discussions and work processes, whose results, errors, and corrections are otherwise incomprehensible—and whose accomplishments could not be understood otherwise either.

History—that is, what has happened—is irreversible, but knowledge deriving from it, accurate perception and cognition, is vital.

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POLAND

Ambassador to Soviet Union on Parameters of Cooperation

26000338 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 18, 30 Apr 88 p 11

[Interview with Włodzimierz Natorf, Polish Ambassador to the Soviet Union, by Sławomir Popowski: "More Than Slogans"]

[Text]

[Question] It has been a year since the joint Polish-Soviet declaration on cooperation in the field of ideology, science and culture was signed. How would you evaluate its results?

[Answer] The declaration is important not only because it embraced the entire sphere of our cooperation in the superstructure for the first time. It is also significant that it was signed at the most propitious point in time, when the leadership of both our parties and states have come to believe that the process of perestroika in the Soviet Union and socialist renewal in Poland are altogether similar.

The first year of carrying out the declaration has confirmed the correctness of the evaluations and guidelines set forth in their entirety. Let us begin from very specific and practical matters. For years, the so-called local interparty cooperation between Polish voivodships and union republics or oblasts of the USSR has been developed. Last year, the number of such partners was increased considerably, and their matching is now more in line with their interests, due to which the cooperation itself is becoming more tangible and less declarative than was the case in the past.

Scientific cooperation is another example. In previous years, we often voiced the criticism that such cooperation was quite shallow and superficial. For about 8 months now, a group of Polish scientists has been working at the USSR Academy of Sciences. They have appointments for 2 to 3 years; therefore, we can see more specific pooling of scientific potentials. In the immediate future, we will employ a group of Soviet scientists in some PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] institutes on the principle of reciprocity.

Further, there is the issue of mutual information. There were times when we either wrote only rosy pieces about each other or took offence when either of the parties

brought itself to write something critical about its partner. Now it is quite acceptable that we inform each other not only about successes, but also about difficulties, mistakes and lapses.

A whole lot has also been done in the sphere of culture. I would hate to call it the invasion of the Soviet Union by Polish culture, but it is a fact that we have begun to present in a wider scope than heretofore very multifaceted forms of our creative endeavors, including the ones which until now were not present in the Soviet market. Let me add that our presentations are received very warmly or altogether enthusiastically. Performances by the J. Szajna Theater or the "Contemporary" Theatre ("The Master and Marguerite") are the case in point.

Finally, there is one more important field which was included in the declaration—interpersonal contacts. After a period of crisis in our country in the early 1980s, tourist traffic from and to the USSR was practically stopped. Now we are returning to the previous status. Various facilities in mutual contacts, including those between individuals, are being reintroduced. Tourist traffic of young people is developing, which we believe to be very important. We will promote this process.

[Question] In describing the declaration, you stressed the importance of similarities in political processes currently underway in the USSR and Poland. For a long time now, the forces of reform in Poland have not had such a favorable environment and support in similar efforts of our neighbor to the East. For example, I remember when, years ago, when we started discussing the outline of our economic reform, opponents of the "three S" [autonomy, self-management and self-financing] principle argued: fine, but how will those autonomous and self-financing enterprises be able to cooperate with the highly centralized, command-and-administer Soviet economy. As I recall, at the time this was a weighty argument, altogether political in nature...

[Answer] I was also involved in cooperation with the Soviet Union in the 1970s; therefore, I have a certain point of reference. At that time and before, our relations were very often reduced to either attempting to adopt existing patterns or altogether negating all of what the other country was proposing. We maintained then that Soviet patterns of socialist construction are not suitable for our country, because we have our own peculiarities and our own, Polish road to socialism. In turn, things we were doing were viewed by Soviet comrades with considerable criticism as a kind of deviation or renegation from the principles of socialist construction. By now the situation has changed fundamentally. In accordance with marxist science and leninism, it is recognized unambiguously that the paths of socialist development even must be different and manifold in individual countries depending on their actual environment, historical experience, size of the country and its internal social and economic system.

I must say that Soviet comrades are now studying in depth such solutions in our and other socialist countries. If the experience is favorable, if it can be applied under Soviet conditions, they make use of it without any reservations. As it were, negative conclusions are also received with attention and are treated as an important experience making it possible to avoid similar mistakes. For example, I have seen how the very form of talks with Polish delegations visiting the USSR has changed. Now it is an authentic dialogue and sharing of experience. At times, I wish our side, too, could make use of current Soviet experience and analyze in depth what is going on in the Soviet Union as well as Soviet comrades do, with regard to our reforms and arrangements in the social, political and economic spheres.

[Question] In light of the declaration, I would like to touch on more general issues in Polish-Soviet relations. In the past, say, during the period of Stalin's cult, the program of a fundamental turnaround in Polish-Soviet relations advanced by the Polish left wing had to pass tough tests many times. Keeping in mind the distortions of that time and comparing the potentials of both countries, the natural question arises as to whether partners' cooperation is possible between a state as large as the Soviet Union and a medium-size European state, such as Poland, experiencing considerable economic difficulties and burdened by debts, including those to its partner to the east?

[Answer] This is a difficult question, but it cannot be left unanswered. It is a difficult question, because generally we should start with defining equality, and in particular equality between unequal partners. We Poles often have a complex of sorts associated with the proximity of a great power. In the past it involved neighbors not only on one side, but on both.

It is important for us that, being as it is a great power, the Soviet Union does not follow a policy which, in the past, used to be described with a pejorative tone as imperial. Let me quote just one example. The USSR does not pursue the policy of "divide and rule" with regard to all regional conflicts. On the contrary, it tries to reconcile the opposing parties.

However, let us return to the basic issue. The question of equality and political partnership between the USSR and Poland is also associated with the question of similar or contradictory interests. In this context, it is impossible to respond to the question by a single slogan-like sentence. Let us, for example, take an issue as mundane as prices in trade. We can hardly speak in this instance about full agreement in interests, because each party would always want to sell at a higher price and purchase at a lower price. This, however, is natural the world over. This is why our trade negotiators simply have to look for compromises which would be acceptable to both parties. This is what the art of both trade and diplomacy is all about. Finally, there also are other parameters indicating similarity or contradiction in interests. For us Poles,

absolute similarity of aspirations on issues fundamental to the state and the Polish nation is vital. In this instance, I mean the feeling of security. I believe that throughout the history of our state we may not have had that strong a feeling of security as we do at present within the framework of the Warsaw treaty. Quite apart from the ideological reasons, the arrangement in existence is in the interest of the Soviet Union as well. It also strove for Poland to be a friendly allied country, because it has so happened, in the history of the Russian state as well, that a majority of attacks against that country were mounted across Poland or even from Poland. At present, the USSR feels more secure having a friend and ally on its western border. This very fundamental similarity of interests, as well as considerations of the political system and ideology, form the basis for partners' relations between us, regardless of the difference in potentials.

[Question] Mr. Ambassador, all of this is true, but one might also ask: fine, but what about the so-called Brezhnev doctrine, Budapest 1956 or, say, the Prague spring of 1968?

[Answer] Such accusations go way back, and I understand them well. However, at times, life and circumstances have forced us to undertake certain actions, even if they later tarnished the political image of the Soviet Union and our entire community. In all of that, the critics very often forget that capitalism was the first to assault communism and development along the socialist path and, even when we had to resort to force, we were forced to do so in response to various forms of aggression on the part of the capitalist world.

Within the framework of what we call new political thinking, and also due to the offensive peace policy, we are currently trying to bring about such arrangements in relations between socialism and capitalism as to avoid in the future the need to resort to force in solving problems of ideological nature. The point is for both us and the capitalist side to observe and comply with the old thesis by Lenin that every people will itself decide on the choice of its system and direction of development. This is clearly seen in the attempts to solve by new methods such regional conflicts as, for example, in Afghanistan, Nicaragua or Kampuchea, where the concept of national reconciliation and position of non-alignment by these countries provide the point of departure.

[Question] How are the issues of Poland and the Poles viewed in the Soviet Union now? The past record is mixed. Events following August 1980 are a case in point.

[Answer] In the Soviet Union, our crisis in the early 1980s is now evaluated with a certain hindsight and, I would even say, in a new way. Soviet comrades understand that the process of socialist renewal was an absolutely indispensable phenomenon, necessitated by mistakes and distortions which occurred at a previous stage of our development. Such issues are perceived in the USSR all the more clearly because they often regard their

own perestroika exactly as escaping the danger of mounting crisis phenomena in their country. In this context, it is highly appreciated that we have managed to overcome a profound crisis through political and peaceful methods, creating at the same time certain models of solving difficult problems which also occur in other countries. I believe that this is also the reason for the current great goodwill and a different view of our solutions.

[Question] Let us return to the declaration. In the minds of a considerable segment of Poles, it primarily conjures up the work of a mixed commission which is supposed to elucidate the so-called blank spots in our joint history.

[Answer] Our history, extraordinarily complicated and complex, has indeed left many burdens. We must reckon with this, but we should also remember that the burden devolves on both sides. Unfortunately, we are inclined to see only one side of the coin. "The blank spots" which burden the consciousness of our society should certainly be eliminated, and the whole truth needs to be told, even if it is very bitter. However, we cannot allow the process which we have started to be artificially accelerated or subjected to both emotional and political pressures. We should also bear in mind that bringing to light all complicated and often times remote historical facts calls for time and access to the sources. I believe that on this issue little can be added to what Prof J. Maciszewski and Prof Smirnov said recently. For example, the Katyn case is a very painful and sensitive issue. It involves thousands of officers who died during the war not far from Smolensk. I believe that in this matter, as well, we should not let emotions carry us away but rather wait for historians to discover the whole truth. At the moment I can say only one thing: in our capacity of the Polish embassy in the territory of the Soviet Union we have been trying to take care of Katyn, a place where so many innocent Poles died. Once a year we lay wreaths there honoring the memory of those who died. We are also negotiating with the Soviet side in order to prepare this place for eventual visits by Poles who would like to do so, either as individuals, family members or in tourist groups. I believe that this place will soon become accessible for a visit by an ordinary, average person.

I would like only to point out that the declaration emphasizes that not only the difficult and often times also tragic fragments of our common history should be shown, but also the positive ones, such as, say, the cooperation of progressive forces in both countries. We should point out everything that brought about Poland regaining independence and was closely associated with revolutionary processes and changes which occurred in Russia 70 years ago.

[Question] Let us stay on the topic of history. One of the points of the declaration envisages setting in order the situation of the Polish relics of the past remaining on Soviet territory. What has been done already?

[Answer] A lot is being done. The time is propitious for this. At present, a lot is being said in the USSR about setting in order historic relics, restoring historic buildings etc. Things associated with Polish culture also tie in with this trend. We have already coordinated with the authorities of adjacent republics an entire catalog of places which will be somehow commemorated, at least by placing information or commemorative plaques. Rebuilding and restoring larger structures is a more complicated matter, but even this is already being done. Some republics have allocated considerable funds for this purpose; conservation work will be undertaken gradually.

[Question] Yet another issue: Soviet Poles. There are many of them. I still remember quite recent times when this was talked about with some embarrassment. Now the situation has begun to change...

[Answer] A group of over a million Soviet citizens of Polish descent lives in the USSR. Recently, a lot has been said about this, and it is no revelation. However, it is worthwhile to look at this issue as well, quietly and from a proper perspective. The fate of Polish expatriates varied in different parts of the world. We should have these specifics in mind, especially if we recall that after the war there was an agreement on the repatriation of Poles from the Soviet Union, and several waves of repatriants who wanted to return to Poland indeed did.

Besides, contrary to what is often thought and imagined, I should say that the access of persons of Polish descent to Polish culture in the USSR is incomparably easier than in other countries, let alone in the areas adjacent to the border where Polish radio and TV broadcasts are easily received. Practically in every major city there are, for example, bookstores which carry books from other socialist countries, including Polish books. We are also exporting to the USSR large quantities of our press, and Polish actors constantly appear on the Soviet stage. This is not to say that more cannot be done in this field as well.

[Question] What about direct contacts of enterprises, setting up joint companies and so on? It is no secret that in practice the implementation of this provision of the declaration does not look well at all. Jointly run businesses are few, and just about everything gets in the way—bureaucratic barriers, as well as the lack of requisite pricing arrangements. What are the opportunities for changing this state of affairs?

[Answer] I would like to stress that these new forms of cooperation are not propaganda, but a goal we are trying to attain, difficult as this goal is. Pooling our potentials and efforts in the production sphere, which could facilitate an improved supply to domestic markets is the essence of our intentions.

We have said that there are many difficulties. However, we must remember that along with objective barriers, there are also subjective ones. It is true that requisite economic mechanisms are lacking, that different rates of exchange are in effect and that cases of "decreeing" cooperation, that is, imposition of certain arrangements from the top, still happen, whereas partners should find each other through genuine interest rather than orders. Certainly, these problems need a solution, and this is the fundamental issue. As it were, similar drawbacks in economic mechanisms exist to the same degree in our, i.e. Polish and Soviet, economic relations with Western partners. Nonetheless, joint enterprises with Western participation develop considerably faster and more of them are set up, whereas our joint enterprises [develop] practically not at all, or are very few...

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POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup
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[Excerpts]

National News

The 45th anniversary of the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto was celebrated very solemnly.

Pre-election meetings at which individuals nominated for people's councils will be subjected to civic judgment will be held from 2 to 17 May 1988. The dates were established by the National Election Collegium.

Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz has been laid to rest next to his mother in the old Zakopane cemetery of Peksowie Brzyzku. The remains of the writer were brought from the Ukrainian village of Wielkie Jeziora 49 years after his suicide. A report is on page 1.

The President of Warsaw announced a decision to build a monument to the Heroes of the Warsaw Uprising as designed by Wincenty Kucma and Jan Budyn. The design in its original version was criticized by the creative associations (of architects, sculptors, and planners), who maintained their critical position in spite of changes in the design. The resistance soldiers and the Civic Committee for the Construction of the Monument supported the design. The Minister of Culture "did not express opposition" because "in a situation in which a conflict develops between artistic reasons and undoubted moral reasons, the latter must predominate."

From the press conference of the government spokesman: "A group of individuals has decided that it is essential to organize a competitive celebration of the anniversary of the uprising in the ghetto and have given a declaration on this issue to the Western press and broadcasting services. It is sad that even the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the heroic uprising

in the ghetto, a great tragedy of Hitlerite genocide and struggle by the Jewish fighters for an honorable death, is discounted for small, trivial, current political maneuvers. This mars the seriousness of the anniversary." In response to a question about the contamination of the Odra by Czechoslovakia, the spokesman replied that Poland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs had taken up the matter with the Czechoslovakian authorities. The amount of Poland's losses including the costs for temporary removal of the pollution and the broader, more long-term losses has been determined.

At the meeting of the government on 11 April 1988, Premier Z. Messner ordered an explanation be made of the causes of the shortage of baked goods in the Warsaw Voivodship on Saturday 9 April, and the inadequate management of the fishing grounds for herring in the Vistula Bay. In the first case the causes were "blatant organizational failures" of the food and baker cooperatives. The city authorities are applying to the supervisory councils of the cooperatives and to the party control bodies that, among other things, they take disciplinary action against Dr W. Tarnachiewicz, the president of the Voivodship Board of the Spolem Food Cooperative, and J. Oleksy, the president of the Board of the Baker's and Cakemaker's Production Cooperative. They asked that the party recommendation of the first for the position of president be withdrawn and that the second be given a party reprimand. As concerns the management of the herring fishing grounds, the difficulties have been removed.

Editor in chief Jerzy Pardus and commentator Jaroslaw Lawrynowicz, journalists of the weekly RZECZYWISTOSC, have received party punishments (respectively, a reprimand with a warning and a reprimand with a ban on holding elected party offices for 3 years). The Court Panel of the PZPR Central Party Control and Review Commission stated that they "had neglected, in an obvious manner, the obligation to preserve special care and accuracy in gathering and using press materials. Their irresponsible behavior had caused definite political and moral damage both to the PZPR City Committee in Wodzislaw Slaski and its first secretary."

Waclaw Jedlinski was named the director of the newly created Main Sanitation Inspectorate. It is to be an independent unit with national jurisdiction performing the functions of the former department of Sanitation Inspections in the Ministry of Health and Social Services.

On the Left

A sharp, critical discussion has arisen in Prague about the line of the monthly PROBLEMY POKOJU I SOCJALIZMU. Representatives of 90 parties participated in the conference. (Jozef Czyrek lead the Polish delegation.)

Juriy Lubimov, the well-known Soviet theater director and former director of the Theater on Taganets, who has spent the last four years outside of the Soviet Union, in an interview for IZVESTIYA told about the causes and circumstances of his leaving the USSR and about his intention to return to his country (in spite of the fact that he has been stripped of his citizenship).

In Romania, there is an intention to create by the year 2000 large "agro-industrial centers" and to this end reduce the number of villages from 13,000 to 6,000.

Zoltan Biro (a scientific worker of the Szechenyi National Library), Mihaly Bihari (a professor at the Budapest University), Zoltan Kiraly (television editor in Szeged), and Laszlo Lengyel (a scientific worker) have been removed from the MSZMP. They were associated with the so-called Democratic Forum, which had met three times since September 1987 gathering members of the opposition and demanding in particular the preparation of a new constitution that would regulate the relationship between the party and the state. Kiraly is a deputy in the National Assembly.

The new Soviet film "Assa," which was premiered as part of a festival of avant-garde art in one of the industrial districts of Moscow, has aroused considerable notice. The film's director, Sergey Solov'ev told journalists that "Assa," a colloquial phrase meaning madness, uproar, or confusion, is a romantic picture of today, the liberation of spiritual forces in society. The commentators write that the creation of a work of this type was impossible in the epoch prior to perestroika. The angry song at the close of the film (with a rock-and-roll background) is a fiery appeal to continue the process of change: "Our hearts demand change, our eyes demand change. In our laughter, our tears, in our pulsating veins. Change. We are waiting for changes."

Under Stalin, even the members of the highest Soviet leadership, Lev Razgon writes in OGONEK, could not protect their closest family from repression. "One of the Kaganovich brothers was shot and the second preferred to shoot himself. Stach Ganetski was arrested and shot; he was the husband of Shvernikov's daughter and lived with him. The parents-in-law of Voroshylov's son were arrested and an attempt was made to arrest Voroshylov's own wife, Yekaterina Davidova. Molotov's wife was arrested who herself was an employee at the leadership level.... Kalinin's wife, Yekaterina Ivanova, was arrested and sent to the gulag."

"The resemblance between the developments in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the current perestroika in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are only visible in the raising of many similar problems. The ways they are solved has nothing in common with current developments," said Jakesz, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee in an interview for the American weekly TIME.

"Much is said of the unfilled bishoprics," the interview with Jakesz continues. "We have only one condition in this respect: that the nominated priests were actually respected representatives of the church, enjoying the trust of the faithful, loyal to their state, and that they act in accord with the binding laws; for, they are Czechoslovakian citizens."

The marshall's uniform of Leonid Brezhnev decorated with dozens of ribbons for medals and orders was reproduced on a poster in Leningrad. The caption of the poster: "Forgetting the past threatens its return."

"It would be naive to think," wrote Moscow's PRAVDA, "that the army and navy being a part of the prize could defend themselves from all the negatives and devastation that touched all of society during the years of stagnation. On the contrary, the peculiar conditions, when, under the facade of protecting state and military secrets, nearly all areas of the operations of the military were inaccessible to control and criticism, contributed, in some cases, to a worsening of the situation...."

Youth and sex in the GDR: as many as 22 percent of the 15-year old girls and 67 percent of the 17 year-old girls here have had their first sexual contact.

Opinions

Jan Rem on an article by St. Kociolek titled "Give Gomulka the Business" in ZYCIE LITERACKI:

"The official publication treats the figure of Gomulka with such seriousness (the article "March 68" in TRYBUNA LUDU—POLITYKA editor's note); thus, in view of this annoyance, Kociolek's fire was directed against the authors of the text in POLITYKA about March 1968—Z. Rykowski and W. Wladyko. The author of "Give Gomulka the Business" sets them up as shooting targets; but one can judge that he is aiming much, much higher. The honor is undue for privates like Rykowski and Wladyko for they are display dummies or a corner from behind which Kociolek can fire in the direction of the present leadership and ultimately at the general. Adam Michnik is doing the same thing.... Twenty years ago, Michnik was on the other side of the barricade from S. Kociolek. It is, however, rather a historical law than a paradox that Michnik and Kociolek have chosen the seem shooting target."

(TRYBUNA LUDU 14 April 1988)

Pawel Bozyk, Marian Guzek, economists:

"Accepting the leading role of the working class in the state as an imperative principle, one can simultaneously accept the fact that in future stages of the development of socialism in Poland it will be possible to implement this principle through two parties of the working class, both socialist. Wanting, however, to ensure the governability of political life in Poland's concrete conditions, we

should avoid developing new parties as responses to the division of society into a "party of those satisfied" with the current system and a "party of those dissatisfied."

"One can think that adequate results from the point of view of the effectiveness of the economic system could be achieved by creating, for example, one party with a program calling for a greater place for economic egalitarianism and thus for control functions by the state and a broad set of functions for the state budget as an instrument of social income redistribution, and a second with a program allowing greater income and property inequality and greater group and individual economic freedom...."

"For example, we could assume that the first party would be called the Socialist Equality Party and the second, the Socialist Liberal Party."

(ZDANIE No 2, 1988)

Prof Dr Marian Stepień, editor in chief of ZDANIE:

"The fragment of the article by Paweł Bożyk and Marian Guzek which proposes the formation of two parties (in place of the present PZPR), (...) prompts us to a brief exchange of opinions...."

This idea is not new. It has been more or less tentatively trying to come up for a while now in discussions about the political future of Poland. It desires to exploit the political experience of the Western societies.

In this area, however, we must find our own solution suitable for our political conditions that guarantee overcoming the accumulated difficulties before us.... Essentially, the program of which the authors are thinking when they write about a Socialist Equality Party has been compromised so effectively that it should be considered rather a paradoxical joke to propose forming a political party supporting its implementation.

The great problem, however, remains: how to make the existing United Polish Workers' Party capable of directing the great work of the Polish reforms."

(ZDANIE, February 1988)

Edward Szymanski, deputy, secretary of the PZPR Deputies' Club:

[Answer] ...There are also exchanges of views, clashes of conceptions, and mutual persuasion in the club. I know that some sections of society are convinced there is so-called iron discipline in the club. It is hard even to deny, but I find no evidence for an obligatory uniformity of opinion. At present each deputy, in accord with his conscience, knowledge, and convictions makes a decision following the interests of his constituents and the political party line."

(Interviewed by Stanisław Blaszczyk, TYGODNIK CIECHANOWSKI 8 April 1988)

Leszek Goździk, during October 1956, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee at the Automobile Factory, today a fisherman and deputy president of the Executive Board of the Union of Deep Sea Fishermen:

[Question] In many countries of the world...there is a fine tradition of individual coastal fishermen selling fresh fish right from the boat. How do the fishermen in Poland feel about this tradition?

[Answer] We are assigned to a state enterprise. If we do not sign a contractual agreement, we are deprived of fuel, ice, packaging, and many other things. And the contract says that the enterprise has the right of first purchase. This regulation, however, should be treated as an obligation. Even if a fisherman meets his contract, i.e., he sells the enterprise the required amount of fish, he cannot sell the rest to someone else for the enterprise can break the contract. And if it breaks the contract, the fisherman has no fuel, ice, etc. Thus, these are half-feudal contracts. Breaking a contract with the enterprise or an enterprise not signing a contract (it is not obliged to sign contracts with individual fishermen) is equivalent to a halt in fishing. I even do not have the right without the agreement of the enterprise with which I signed a contract (in my case Odra of Swinoujście) to sell fish to another state enterprise, for example, Barka in Kolobrzeg. Unfortunately, I must sail to Swinoujście. Thus, we do not fish in the Baltic where there are fish, but rather search for fish as close to our base as possible.

(Interviewed by Andrzej Androchowicz, MORZE I ZIEMIA 6-12 April 1988)

Marek Zieleniewski, in a report about Gen Franciszek Szlachcic, former minister of internal affairs:

"December 18, shortly after the 7-hour stormy meeting of the Politburo he went with Stanisław Kania to Katowice. It was a 'special mission'.

"He recalls: 'Edward, it's necessary', I insist. He agreed after a long hesitation. 'But only for a year or two, and then I will escape to Katowice,' he stipulated.

"After arriving in Warsaw, Gierek temporarily lived at the Szlachcics' house. Here, after meetings with his most ardent supporter, he made his first decision. To go to the striking shipyard workers.

"Some of the comrades proposed: surround, cut off the water, shut off the power, bombard them with gases.' He recalls, 'Something along these lines. Gierek was uncertain, again he mentioned returning to Katowice. Brezhnev called. He calmed him down some and discouraged resolution by force. And Gierek suddenly decided: we will fly to a meeting with the shipyard workers. And it was as if it was not the same Gierek. You know the rest:

the meeting in the Szczecin shipyard and the 'help' in Gdansk. A triumph. Today I think that moment was the critical one in the feelings and fate of Gierek. For after that, he never desired to return to Katowice."

(WPROST 17 April 1988)

Stefan Kisielewski, writer and columnist for TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY:

[Answer] In Poland, many people are speculating about a change in the geopolitical situation. But they forget that such a change would put Poland in an extremely difficult situation. What happens then? The Germans will want Szczecin and Wroclaw back, the Lithuanians will demand Suwalk. The Ukrainians will have some proposals and suddenly it will turn out that Poland falls under everything. Thus, I would not criticize the postwar situation so, for it could be much worse. I am even inclined to regard the current geopolitical situation as beneficial. The misfortune is that the condition for maintaining it is the retention of the binding, unchanging economic and political system, and not like it is in happy Finland.

(Interviewed by Jerzy Szczesny, KONFRONTACJE, March 1988)

Henryk Szymanski, chairman of the Gmina People's Council in Nowinka, Suwalk Voivodship:

"The people's council does not have any prestige among the people. One knows, in advance, that it is only a facade, a fictional body, needed only to ensure the good feelings of high-level officials, for applauding their decisions made at high levels. Genuinely active, independently thinking people do not come to this authority. The current election system and method of nominating candidates also does not serve this purpose. The councils are not representatives of the residents but of a few organizations that according to the plan had to nominate someone, whether they have someone or not, as their representative to the authorities."

(Statement in KRAJOBRAZY, 27 March 1988)

13021

Former Adviser on Compromise, Solidarity Role During Martial Law

26000280b Warsaw KONFRONTACJE in Polish
No 1, Jan 88 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, by Jerzy Papuga: "Jerzy Papuga Talks With Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki at the 'Hybrydy' Student Club"]

[Text]

[Question] For a long time you have dealt with the problems of the political culture of the citizenry. What do you take this term to mean?

[Answer] It is your generation's duty to create a better world whose rules become values as paramount as civic responsibility or patriotism. Alongside them, are such qualities—sometimes we have suffered from the lack of them—as an awareness of our nation's entire history, social and political pluralism, and a sense of law and order, because it is these things which can change the situation we face today. Of course, Polish historical awareness must be situated within that of the world, and more especially within the framework of the universe of European history, because a certain attitude is bound flow out of this awareness.

[Question] This harking back to history can hardly consist of seeking justification for our "national insanity"...

[Answer] Mistakes more than insanity. Every Pole today must take into account the terrible disgrace of the partitions which have been weighing on us, if only because we are heirs of 18th-century Poles. It is a great disgrace that Poland, which was a great power that was morally betrayed at the end of the 18th century, became passive in the face of history rather than the an actor in history. Today especially we must take into account the fact that three countries, Austria, which we saved less than a century earlier, little Prussia, and culturally backward Russia, plundered us with impunity during the 3 final decades of the 18th century. The Third-of-May Constitution and the Kosciuszko Uprising proved our nation's rebirth, but they do not cancel out the glaring facts.

Awareness of recent and contemporary history, on the other hand, will place our civic culture on the side of historical truth, because this is an essential condition to politically sound behavior in terms of the nation's future. We must not forget that the 19th century was a decade of triumph for the Polish nation, largely in the sphere of culture and national values. I do not know whether the younger generation of the intelligentsia knows what makes the Polish Republic born in 1918 different from other nations which gained their independence at that time.

[Question] Through the administration, the army...

[Answer] Exactly, the army! And the ability to do battle. Nations like the Latvians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, and Czechs gained their independence by grace of the victors of the Great War. In gaining their independence Poles still had to wage an armed struggle for borders essential for the normal development of the state and the nation. We must remember that we can exist in a given territory or alliance and fight for full sovereignty and independence while having such borders on the East, because at the same time we currently have such borders on the

West! And it would be impossible to exist during the period between the wars having today's borders on the East while having the border we had then on the West. We would be a petty buffer state. [—] [Law of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Public Performances, Article 2, Point 3 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99, 1983 Amendment, DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, Item 204)]. An undoubted virtue of the Second Republic's political elite was the structuring and grounding of a certain state awareness during the partitions dividing us into three sections, an awareness which became part of all the strata of society.

[Question] What sort of place does this state awareness hold in the process of shaping citizens' political culture?

[Answer] This is a difficult problem. After all, the state we are creating did not take the shape that the overwhelming majority of the society wished. [—] [Law of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, Article 2, Point 3 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99, 1983 Amendment, DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, Item 204)]. Therefore we have to live under certain circumstances. But above all we must have an awareness of the state, because, although imperfect, it is better than having no state at all. This is the supreme value which we must maintain and perfect in keeping with the will of the majority of the society. A digression: Following the May 1926 attempt, when people asked the victors to put up a statue to the fallen soldiers who had fought on his side, the marshall said: "No! I am not going to put up statues in memory of those who fell in a fratricidal struggle." That is an example of the sense of the supreme value of the state and a measure of what is often lacking today. I remember how under Solidarity some colleagues fell into chauvinism, and somebody said that it did not matter what language the policeman was speaking when they came to arrest him. I protested! It does matter! Regardless of the goals which we have in our public activity. Even if that policeman was our concrete political adversary. It is a question of a sense of the hierarchy of values against the backdrop of a familiarity with the country's history and a realization of certain political necessities.

[Question] You are using very traditional values. To what extent can flexibility be permitted in political operations?

[Answer] I am not a dogmatist. I recognize that the attitude and politics of the citizenry are the art of things possible. We must adapt our most beautiful impulses to the possibilities. In public activity one must not place his own good in first place. Somebody may be engrossed in some idea and be ready to give his life for it. All right, but his own life and not the life of the nation! We can sacrifice ourselves. Sometimes this is heroism, but I have no right to sacrifice the country.

[Question] So you are a man of compromise?

[Answer] Realism, skill in orienting oneself in the hierarchy of values, leads to a certain ability to compromise, and hence to reach agreement with political adversaries.

[Question] The ability to compromise on behalf of state interests is not the strongest element in our civic attitudes.

[Answer] I do not know whether that accusation is correct. You forget that other nations have had their states and under their auspices have created their own civic political culture. On the other hand, we have acquired it in an accelerated manner. Back under the state of the Second Republic.

[Question] Our collective national self-preservation instinct has often held sway over purely emotional behavior...

[Answer] I do not agree with that view. For example, during the fin de siècle times a problem arose as to whether to allow Polish youth to enter the partition army. National wisdom (in a manner inconceivable to the individual) said that it was all right. Had it not been for this morally "suspect" deed, we would not have defended the independence of our country in 1920. Now, in the notion of some people, the totality of the deeds unworthy of a Pole gave the new Poland a corps of officers which led the Polish army to victory against the Russian army. Therefore, one element of true political culture is authentic patriotism and the awareness of certain imponderables, that is, a sense of how far one can go in compromising.

[Question] This sense should be subordinated to principles which are governed by the will and the intellect.

[Answer] This is proved by recent history which you must have witnessed. Right after the introduction of martial law, when Mr Rakowski, who was deputy premier at the time, was talking to me, he complained a great deal and blew up over certain political moves Solidarity had made, and I told him: [—] [Law of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, Article 2, Point 3 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99, 1983 Amendment, DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, Item 204)]. "You communists believe in miracles?" At that time mass behavior was being guided by intuition and not political wisdom. This had a tragic effect on the fate of the nation, because many opportunities for liberty which could have been continued and made permanent were not taken advantage of. [—] [Law of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, Article 2, Point 3 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99, 1983 Amendment, DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, Item 204)].

[Question] Certain moral and human losses could have been prevented in December of 1981.

[Answer] Certainly. The authorities were too afraid of Solidarity. Nonetheless, on the national scale, the losses were very moderate. I think that our people bore martial law with dignity. This was in a certain sense because of the moderate stance of the authorities. But above all it was because of the nation and these principles of patriotism which Solidarity had within it.

[Question] What sort of political message would you like to send to young people?

[Answer] My generation must not be indifferent to the fate of young people, who after all face greater difficulties. But after all everything does not depend on them! After all it is not the young people who determine the rules of the political game. But they must accept them, because young people are the most important human potential in modern Polish society. The sum of the conditions of their life give no cause for optimism and do not create promising long-range prospects. The leaders of modern mass youth organizations are unable to infect them with the commitment to strive to change social conditions which was characteristic of the young people in groups in Poland during the period between the wars. But what is important? All society, young people in particular, should have more civic freedoms, which would bear fruit in wise loyalty to the state. Let us add that this loyalty would be based on patriotism but derive from pluralism. If young people are not to be permitted to enter into legal associations, then its revolt will continue to be directed toward the fascinating adventure of conspiracy. And this will bring about irreparable harm! How many young people have passed through the difficult school of life in places of isolation, in jails... Today the sense of law and order is getting to the point where in state activity it is necessary to bring the natural diversity of attitudes, positions, and views into harmony with the vital interests of the nation and the state. The governed and the governing must feel this need.

[Question] Many young people do not accept the legal order of the Polish People's Republic. They say that it goes against the national interest. This negation is often governed by very infantile political intuitions...

[Answer] Unfortunately little comes of negation alone! We have to give up hopes for only great changes and begin to shape reality with small steps too, but at the moment I do not see any great chances in the near future for having the significance of certain unaffiliated youth groups recognized or of their being given permission to operate. I think this blockade harms the interests of the Polish state, which through a lack of pluralism cannot acquire dynamism.

[Question] Can the private sector of the Polish economy pull it out of the crisis?

[Answer] The Polish economy cannot be pulled out merely by illusory private initiative, because today it is being hampered by the administration's actions. But it is an important element of the future. It is just that the unnecessary barriers and difficulties must be eliminated. It is not difficult to use as a basis the reflection that it was not until the threshold of the 21st century that we are beginning to recognize the need to mobilize human resources around the most immediate goals, let us say individual ones, to avoid saying private ones. And whoever thinks that because of this social egotism will suddenly develop is seriously in error, because individual management is not free of social relationships. It may be a new proposal to enter into them largely on the basis of living nearby, of the similarity of vocations, or of using the same raw materials. You can await the 21st century with the hope of personally enriching a person with what is scarce today, that is: truth, kindness, and sincerity. At least that is what I am struggling for in the battle we should be waging against falsehood and hypocrisy.

[Question] Are there people with moral authority in Poland?

[Answer] Today there are a lot of people who despite the tragedy of the past few years honor certain noble principles, that is, they fight with their visors open and respect their opponents. Such a climate favors the development of truly civic political culture. Some of my fellow members on the Consultation Council are entirely worthy of the name, but I should not be the one to point it out.

[Question] Does the figure of General Jaruzelski fit the model of national leader that your generation has cultivated?

[Answer] That is a difficult question, because it faces me with the task of making binding judgments. Mr Jaruzelski is a dedicated communist, but one cannot deny that he has a certain characteristic which singles him out from among other post-war leaders of the nation. That is his realism and moderation. This political quality is quite a secret for the society. Public reference to people in power is very difficult, because our political practice is not familiar with such criticism that bears on a leader governing the nation. And this is too bad for him. The general is a humble man, and at the same time along with Gorbachev he is declaring his support for reforms in the socialist camp, which gives us a great deal to think about. [—] [Law of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, Article 2, Point 3 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99, 1983 Amendment, DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, Item 204)].

[Question] There is the conviction that Poland is a "special case" in the Soviet camp.

[Answer] In 1945, during the Stalinist regime in Russia, which after all was entirely different from Gorbachev's regime, it did not seem to us as though we would be able

to be ourselves in the sense of either sovereignty or culture. The independence of the church in a state of authoritarian socialism at that time seemed like a fantasy, but the church endured and gained power that it had never had in its 1,000 years of history in this land. Domestic social relations in our country are far better than anywhere else in the Soviet bloc. We are different. I will tell you an old story. Two travellers were on the train during this same period, the first going from Paris to Moscow and the other from Moscow to Paris. They were both distracted and got off in Warsaw. And both thought that they had arrived at their destinations! Poland is on the edge of the political cultures of both of them.

[Question] What sort of characteristics should a responsible politician conducting public activity have?

[Answer] The good Pole and responsible politician is not the one who takes the road of arbitrary struggle but the one who manages to win over his opponents, to gather them together, and to unite them. Such a leader should remain inflexible in the country's matters of principle, but at the same time he should be guided by reason and will in resolving ongoing problems. Politics, based on irrefutable principles and imponderables, is at the same time the art of achieving things that are possible.

10790

Opinion Polls: Popular Belief in Reform at All-Time Low

26000319 Warsaw *PRAWO I ZYCIE* in Polish
No 16, 16 Apr 88 p 3

[Unattributed article: "What Do We Think of the Reform?"]

[Text] A majority of the public still approves of the economic reform, although the percentage of its supporters has declined from 66 percent in 1983 to 56 this year. Simultaneously, increasing numbers of people are critical of the method of implementation. The percentage of people saying that the reform will improve society's standard of living has decreased drastically (from 45 percent to 16 percent), while the opinion that it will bring a worsening in society's standard of living has increased (from 9 percent to 35 percent).

These are the basic conclusions of the survey conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center at the end of February and the beginning of March 1988 on opinions of the economic reform. This was the fourth survey by the Public Opinion Research Center on this subject. The previous ones were done in 1983, 1985, and 1987.

In 1983-87 the percentage of the respondents saying that the reform had so far brought benefits and those who noted only damages were similar (they were respectively: 21-24 percent and 4-6 percent). In 1988, there was a noticeable decline in the percentage of people who saw

beneficial results from the reform and an accompanying increase in statements that indicate that the reform has so far brought damages. Comparing the results of the four surveys, we should point out the systematic increase in the category of people who see no results of the reform, either benefits or damages: the results of the last survey indicate that at present this group is the dominant one.

Besides their general opinion of the reforms, the respondents were asked about favorable or unfavorable phenomena associated with its operations. The following were regarded as pluses: better supplies for the markets, limitation of rationing, greater independence for the enterprises, increasing production, limitation of the bureaucracy, and decentralization.

On the other hand, the following were the most important negative phenomena associated with the implementation mentioned by the respondents (in the order of the number of responses): price increases, inflation, worsening material living conditions, low wages and pensions, shortages of some goods, poor supplies, unfavorable conditions for the development of agriculture, high prices for production resources for agriculture, economic instability, Poland's worsening economic situation.

Analogously formulated questions were put to the respondents in the previous surveys. Comparing the results of the last two surveys we can say that both in 1987 and in 1988 the respondents noted similar beneficial phenomena associated with the reform. Some change can be noted in the analysis of the negative phenomena. In this year's survey, the respondents pointed more frequently to the worsening material living conditions and to the unfavorable conditions for the development for agriculture than in 1987.

One of the goals of the survey was to determine what the public's opinion of the process of implementing and the dynamics of the reform is.

In comparison with previous years, the results manifest an increase in the negative opinions of the process of reforming the economy. A little more than two-thirds of the respondents say that the reform is good but that it is being inappropriately implemented, and they see no results associated with its implementation. More than one-third of the respondents, however, doubts the reform can succeed at all. Nearly half of the respondents agrees with the statement that the reform is being implemented too slowly.

The respondents were also asked about the anticipated results of the reform over the next three years. In 1983, 44 percent of the respondents anticipated rather beneficial results, and in 1987, 29 percent, and in 1988, only 15 percent.

In 1983, 9 percent of the respondents thought that the reform would bring a worsening of the standard of living, while, in 1987, 18 percent, and in 1988, 35 percent thought so. Over the period of five years, the number of opinions that prices will increase as much or more rapidly than before also rose radically, from 29 percent in 1985 to 64 percent in 1988.

The Public Opinion Research Center also collected opinions on the desired directions for reform. In 1988, 77 percent and in 1985, 76 percent of the respondents expected the most important decisions to be made in the enterprises by the self-managements; in 1988, 76 percent and in 1985, 69 percent of the respondents were in favor of the releasing of employees who were not absolutely necessary; in 1988, 71 percent of the respondents called for limiting the subsidies paid unprofitable enterprises, and 63 percent were for reducing subsidies for prices of some goods and services.

Among the various socio-demographic groups, the opinions of those with higher educations and of the members of the PZPR and the political parties were most distinct. They expressed approval for the implementation of the reform with clearly greater frequency. They also more frequently noted the benefits of the reform, although they were also more frequently of the opinion that the reform is being implemented too slowly.

13021

Public Opinion Polls, Press Reviewed on Cadre Policy, Problems

26000341 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 18, 1 May 88 p 3

[Article by Andrzej W. Malachowski: "From the Chosen to the Best Ones?"]

[Text] Worse work crowds out better work, just as worse money crowds out better money, as stated by Mikolaj Kopernik in his treatise "On Currency." This is hardly surprising. Almost any person will do poorer work, but with less strain on himself, if he is not properly motivated.

The view has been stated recently more and more explicitly that a slow introduction of reforms is caused by barriers originating with people. After all, on the one hand, the need to open up prospects for human initiative and enterprise is appreciated, while on the other, such openings are still very narrow. Being average is still more convenient than being a leader. New forms of work at enterprises, e.g. team systems, also called agency or brigade systems, are not becoming very popular. They did not catch on massively despite gaining the endorsement of the highest echelons and being heavily promoted by propaganda as one of the most efficient ways to work out cadre difficulties and bring about increased productivity and wages. So far, only about 900 out of 12,000 enterprises have introduced this form of production

management. However, every novelty should not only be properly reflected in legal regulations and the plans of the so-called authorities, but should also capture the imagination of people and send forth those who would want to get involved in implementing it in practice. At this time, under our conditions, the first barrier surfaces—there is a dearth of those willing to lead. It turns out that cadre barriers are the most important impediments to introducing radical changes in the economy. New people are needed; meanwhile, there is nowhere to get them. It turns out that the ones wishing to advance themselves are becoming fewer.

This opinion is borne out by sociological research. Very many respondents believe that assuming a management post does not at all signify the beginning of a career. The almost universal conviction is that making a career means making a lot of money and gaining financial security, but also gaining high prestige. However, personal and work-related achievements are hardly at all associated with affluence and prestige. As the authors of a CBOS [Center for Public Opinion Research] study "Issues of Personnel Policy in the Opinion of Socialized Sector Employees" (April 1988) put it, "some people work successfully, while others derive benefits and social respect from this."

This point of view has gained ground in recent years. It followed from a survey carried out in February 1986 ("Why the Executive's Desk No Longer Lures," PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, 1986, No. 22) that assuming a management position did not signify the beginning of a career for 4 percent of rank-and-file employees and 60 percent of directors in the state administration. A survey this year indicates that these percentages have grown respectively to 45.8 and 63.1 percent.

Putting it in market terms, the supply of those who are potentially ready to take leadership positions is drying up. This is clearly the result of the cost of advancement being greater than the benefits it offers in the eyes of a considerable segment of the populace. Certainly, an additional reason is found in the fact that the principles of personnel policy adopted and implemented to date have usually been systemic, often times abstract, that is, referring to the economy or the populace as a whole. Meanwhile, the real personnel policy, that most immediately felt and closely observed, is implemented at lower levels—in enterprises, institutions and in the so-called "field." Here, the gap between the principles and practice is often wide. As people in positions of authority view it, a straightforward analysis of the results of their work is supplanted by general declarations, and loyalty and pliability are preferred in appointments to these positions. This is expressed quite pointedly by Prof Bogdan Wawrzyniak from the Institute of Organization, Management and Cadre Improvement, an expert of the Department of Cadre Policy of the PZPR CC, who observed in an interview to WPROST weekly (1988, No. 15): "Not even negative, but rather random selection has

prevailed and still prevails. Fortuitous persons who managed 'to latch on' to some arrangement or mini-arrangement got to the positions of authority..."

In an article published by PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY ("Discovering the Person," No. 8) Prof Wawrzyniak described the Polish personnel policy as administering cadres, politicized and showing a tendency toward centralization.

In practice, at lower levels, the old inclinations to exploit the system in all possible ways and at all levels remain, though official documents outlining intentions for the present and for the future discuss a wider and decentralized mode of selecting cadres. Meanwhile, it is harmful in a system of economy undergoing reforms because it stifles change.

The cadre policy has been criticized recently quite harshly in various publications. It appears that the view taken of it varies in the general perception of the populace. Opinions differ depending on individual experience and position on the professional ladder, but also on the personal attitude to eventual promotion. Be that as it may, the surveys carried out by the CBOS indicate that the share of those who believe that the cadre policy will succeed has been declining in recent years. For example, in a survey of three groups employed in the socialized economy—rank-and-file employees, managers, and chiefs and mayors of townships and cities, the comparison of the policy currently in effect with the one implemented in the 1970s came out as follows: 43.5 percent of employees, 46.4 percent of managers and 34.8 percent of chiefs and mayors did not see any difference. Sixteen percent of the employees were convinced that the current personnel policy is better and more efficient (16.4 percent were of the exact opposite opinion); so were 36.4 percent of managers (9.3 percent of critical voices) and 52.4 percent of chiefs and mayors (6.3 percent of critical statements).

As can be seen from the above, those in higher positions, promoted most often in recent years, had a better opinion of the current personnel policy. However, almost three-fourths of those surveyed in all three groups believe that this policy has not been thought through. Compared to the 1986 survey, the share of negative responses in the first group surveyed doubled (from 35.7 to 68 percent), and the share of critical responses in the two other groups increased considerably (for managers, from about 50 to 77.6 percent and for chiefs and mayors, by 28 percent, to 72.3 percent). This increment in critical responses, especially in the two last groups surveyed, is quite surprising and troubling. After all, the people holding these very positions are supposed to actually implement the principles of new personnel policy.

According to another CBOS study, "Opinions of Employees on Personnel Policy in Industrial Enterprises," based on surveys carried out in 1985 through 1987, we may also note an increase in negative views.

For example, the share of negative responses to the question on whether the best are promoted grew appreciably. In 1986, this was the opinion of 33 percent of rank-and-file employees questioned and 22.4 of those in positions of authority. However, the increase in the number of such responses compared to a similar survey carried out a year before was greater in the group of managers (from 14.8 percent) than in the group of rank-and-file employees (from 28 percent). The number of those holding a favorable opinion of personnel decisions also dropped between 1985 and 1986: in 1985, 59.7 percent of employees (in 1986—45.6 percent) and 79.5 percent of managers (in 1986—69.1 percent).

Opinions on recalling incompetent persons from positions of authority changed even more. In 1985, a majority of the employees surveyed believed that personnel decisions provide such guarantees. However, as little as a year later the majority stated otherwise. It is interesting that a similar trend in the shaping of opinion may be observed among the managers surveyed.

It follows from other CBOS surveys that, in the surveyed group of employees directly involved in production, 40 percent of those questioned believe that the current management cadres make the condition of the economy worse, and a certain percentage (14.5 percent of employees, 11.7 percent of managers and 7.8 percent of chiefs and mayors) believe that they slow down the introduction of economic reforms. The managerial cadres at different levels are also accused of being passive and not getting involved in changes. Employees (56.4 percent) and chiefs and mayors (52.1 percent) are the most categorical in their evaluations.

However, this critical evaluation in the polls of the quality of work of management cadres is not reflected in the official opinion. For example, the amount of shoddy goods produced, the burdensome so-called "everyday life," which result, to a considerable degree, from poor operation of institutions and offices, would call for similar harshness in views expressed by various echelons evaluating managerial cadres. Meanwhile, from 1984 through 1987 party echelons and organizations revoked endorsements for about 5,000 persons on their own initiative, or at the request of control-and-audit commissions, which appears to be a small percentage compared to the multitude of positions for which endorsements are required. Certainly, the point here is not only to punish, but first of all, to evaluate properly and to distinguish the ones who deserve it. Meanwhile, routine evaluations of managerial cadres, as a rule, boil down to generalities and do not link the entirety of the results of work with the opinion given. To be sure, spectacular events do happen, as, say, the lack of bread in Warsaw on one Saturday this April and the punishment of the chiefs of retail trade enterprises. The degree of guilt may be called into doubt, because this lack of bread occurred both in the shops operating poorly every day and the ones enjoying good opinion among the customers. Was this

only the result of oversight, or of poor organization of our collective life which allows for mismatched schedules of Saturdays off in enterprises and retail outlets?

Clearly, the personnel policy is constantly changing. This is the result of both the documents adopted and legal regulations, and changes in the mentality of the people. Despite the attempts at decentralization causing apprehensions about abandoning the principles inside the party itself, various new forms are increasingly coming into existence. For example, competitions are becoming an increasingly popular and stable way of recruiting personnel, despite still being received with reservations. The CBOS polls suggest that a majority of those surveyed are in favor of extending competitive staffing to positions in enterprises other than that of director. In that matter, one's personal circumstances also determine one's vision. For example, managers employed in the socialized sector state that competitive staffing should be extended to administration. In their turn, employees of the administration are convinced that this is a wonderful form of cadre recruitment in enterprises. The suggestion to fill team leader and foreman positions by competition causes similar differences in opinion. Seventy percent of employees are against it, but in the same populace surveyed, as many as over 70 percent are in favor of filling through competition the position of, say, provincial governor. We might say that competitive staffing causes the fewer reservations the further it is removed from the career paths of the interested subjects.

Many different inconsistencies can be found in the views of those polled. For example, they go beyond what has been laid down in [official] documents when opting for the extension of competitive staffing to other positions. On the other hand, at least some of them call for making party endorsements mandatory for filling additional positions, which would restrict the promotion of non-party members more than has been the case to date. They also do not see a problem in the aging of managerial cadres. In any event, for a majority of those surveyed, being young is not a meaningful criterion favoring promotion.

As Prof Wawrzyniak noted, the aging of the managerial cadres is the result of the aging of the party in recent years and the preferences given to party members in appointments to managerial positions. Head of the PZPR CC Department of Cadre Policy, Jerzy Swiderski, also expressed concern over this ("Opening Without a Key," *PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY*, 1986, No. 11), adding that "the party may face the problem of the lack of the young intellectual elite." Therefore, a generation gap might arise not only in the party itself, but also in the management cadres of the entire economy, unless young non-party members are added quickly and in large numbers to the recruiting base for managers at various levels.

However, at this point the [vicious] circle in effect closes, because fewer and fewer people want managerial positions. Therefore, further systemic changes are needed,

primarily to provide greater opportunity for achieving self-realization and making money in these positions. In other words, the objective is to increase the already mentioned supply of those willing to take managerial positions.

Persons who already are managers view the current personnel policy in enterprises much more favorably than employees. In their opinion, from among the features in favor of promotion, the ability to organize, professionalism, quality of work and education are taken into account. Workers mention the ability to organize further down the list. According to them, a good relationship with the boss, education, professionalism and tenure at the enterprise matter the most. Both the employees and the managers noted that, in their opinion, membership in the party or a socio-political organization is also taken into account.

Both groups believe that professionalism and knowledge of the trade and related problems should be, but not always are, the major prerequisites for promotion. A majority stressed education. In their turn, only a small percentage of respondents indicated belonging to the party or a trade union.

We may say that differences between the observed and expected criteria for selecting cadres involve primarily belonging to a party or socio-political organization and relations with supervisors.

In the view of respondents to the CBOS poll, provincial PZPR committees have the greatest influence in nominating, say, enterprise directors. Thus, over one-half of the workers and two-thirds of the managers described this influence as great or decisive in a survey done in October 1987. The workers ranked the enterprise party organization second, whereas the managers mentioned the branch ministry in a position almost equal to that of provincial committees. Therefore, the poll indicates considerably greater influence of external factors.

On the other hand, the picture of the role of internal factors, especially the employee council, presented by these polls is rather uneven. One-third of the respondents describe its role in selecting a director as considerable, but an equal percentage of those surveyed describe its participation as small.

In the view of directors and chairmen of employee councils in enterprises where a new director has been nominated, the council participated vigorously in one-third of cases; it did not participate at all in one-half of cases, and in the remainder of cases it merely accepted an external decision.

According to the same populace, inside the enterprise the director has the greatest influence on the selection of cadres, and the enterprise party organization is his main partner. In turn, the employee council and the trade union chapter were viewed as not very significant. It may

be assumed on the basis of research that the employee council takes an active part in personnel policy in only about one-tenth of enterprises with more than 500 employees.

In the same survey, the CBOS pollsters asked who should influence the personnel policy in the enterprise. Everyone, even those who are active in the party organization or trade union, called for increasing the participation by employee self-management. The employee council should have great or exclusive influence on nominating or recalling the director. This solution is favored by 89.9 percent of trade union activists and 86.7 percent of activists of enterprise party organizations. As those surveyed would have it, the employee self-management should have greater influence than all other external (e.g. the provincial committee, ministry) or internal factors (party or trade union organization). Opinions vary with regard to the participation of the enterprise party organization in filling the position of director. Seventy percent of party and trade union functionaries believe that such participation must be great. About 40 percent of self-management functionaries and of all workers and managers share this view.

As far as promotion to management positions inside the enterprise is concerned, the majority of people polled are in favor of a strong position of the director, who should have the decisive voice, but work in close cooperation with self-management. A considerable share of party and trade union activists also come out in favor of such an arrangement.

The intentions described above do not run counter to general provisions on personnel policy. Their success will hinge on the comprehensive introduction of such provisions.

9761

Party Activities Calendar 29 February-13 March 1988

26000306a Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish
No 6, 23 Mar 88 p 19

[Text]

Meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee

1 March 1988

The Politburo examined the next collection of information from the government on the implementation of the second stage of the reform in February 1988.

It also familiarized itself with the problems in land management and structural changes. It approved proposed systemic measures to ensure proper land use.

Conferences and Meetings

29 February 1988

The leadership of the Central Party Control and Review Commission conducted a control and inspirational talk with B. Saar, president of the Executive Board of the Union of the Housing Construction Cooperatives in which J. Zakrzewski, first secretary of the basic party organization of the Union of the Central Housing Construction Cooperatives, also participated. Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, chairman of the Commission and member of the Politburo, presided over the talk, and Jerzy Swiderski head of the Personnel Policy Section of the Central Committee participated in it.

3 March 1988

The Commission on Propaganda of the Central Committee discussed the development of the social mood and the tasks of the mass media in presenting the role of the representative bodies. Jan Glowczyk, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, presided.

4 March 1988

The two-day conference of writers and literary critics organized by the Culture Section of the Central Committee and the All-Polish Group of Party Writers ended in Warsaw. The theme of the conference was "An Historical Time and the Motives of Writers' Choices." Among those participating in the conference were Andrzej Wasilewski (secretary of the Central Committee), Tadeusz Sawic (head of the Culture Section of the Central Committee), and Aleksander Krawczuk (minister of culture and fine arts).

The Party Control and Review Commission of the Polish Army evaluated the ideological and moral attitudes and the civic and profession activeness of the party members in the armed forces. Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, chairman of the Central Party Control and Review Commission and member of the Politburo, participated in the meeting.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, received Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, who was leading a delegation of the SED Central Committee on a two-day working visit to Poland. Edward Baryla, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, participated in the meeting. Horst Neubauer, the GDR ambassador to Poland, was present.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, received Viktor Mironenka, first secretary of the Komsomol, who was visiting Poland.

7 March 1988

On the eve of the International Women's Day, members of the party leadership visited plants in which the majority of the employees are women.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, visited the Syrena Leather Industry Factory in Warsaw.

Kazimierz Barcikowski visited the Brodno State Farm; Jozef Baryla visited the Olimpia Knitting Industry Plant in Lodz and the Central Administration of Precision Instruments; Jan Glowczyk visited the Biawena Wool Industry Plant in Biala Podlaska; Alfred Miodowicz visited the Cotton Industry Plants in Luban Slaski (Jelenia Gora Voivodship); Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak visited, among others, the Wolczanka No 1 Plant in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski (Kielce Voivodship); Zygmunt Muranski visited the Enamelled Utensil Factory in Olkusz (Katowice Voivodship); Mieczyslaw Rakowski visited the Zwoltex Cotton Industry Plant in Zdunska Wola (Sieradz Voivodship); Zofia Stepień visited the Elanex Worsted Yarn Plant in Czestochowa; Manfred Gorywoda visited the Wanda Knitting Industry Plant in Sosnowiec; Janusz Kubasiewicz visited the Pollena-Uroda Cosmetics Factory in Warsaw; Gabriela Rembisz visited the Polania Great Poland Shoe Factory in Gniezno; Andrzej Wasilewski visited plants in the Slupsk Voivodship.

In the presence of Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of State, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, received a state and party commission from Nicaragua led by Bayardo Arce Castano, member of the national leadership and deputy coordinator of the Executive Commission of the Sandino National Liberation Front.

9 March 1988

The Central Committee Commission on the Family discussed the implementation of legal guarantees of employment and work for women in the socialized sector of the economy. Halina Smialkowska-Rykier presided over the deliberations.

11 March 1988

The Central Committee Commission for Internal Party Affairs and the Operations of the Party in the State Representative and Administrative Bodies discussed the quantity, class, and generation profiles of the party and a proposal for the seventh plenum of the Central Committee on personnel policy. Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, presided over the meeting.

In the Committees and Organizations

4 March 1988

The Jelenia Gora Voivodship Committee devoted its meeting to the tasks of the voivodship party organization in improving the ideological functions and action upon society. Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, member of the Politburo and deputy marshall of the Sejm, participated in the meeting.

Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, met with the employees and the activ of the Techma-Robot plant in Biala Podlaska.

5 March 1988

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, member of the Politburo and deputy marshall of the Sejm, visited Kowary where he acquainted himself with problems of the Kowary Rug Factory and met with the socio-political activists of the factory.

The Czestochowa Voivodship Committee discussed the areas of action for the voivodship party organization in implementing the second stage of the economic reform. Zofia Stepień, member of the Politburo, participated in the deliberations.

The Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee at a joint meeting with the ZSL Voivodship Committee evaluated the achievements of agriculture in the coastal region and the prospects for developing the food industry to 1990. Stanislaw Bejger, deputy member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, presided over the deliberations; Zbigniew Michalek, deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Kazimierz Olesiak, member of the Presidium of the ZSL Chief Committee, participated in the meeting.

The Wloclawek Voivodship Committee devoted its meeting to entrepreneurship as one of the prerequisites for the success of the second stage of the economic reform in the region.

The Wroclaw Voivodship Committee at a joint meeting with the Voivodship Control and Review Commission discussed problems of strengthening the basic party organizations under the economic reform. Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and Jerzy Wilk, deputy chairman of the Central Party Control and Review Commission, participated in the meeting.

7 March 1988

In Siedlce, Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, met with the secretaries of the party committees in the region and the

employees of the voivodship committee. The Central Committee secretary presented the current socio-political situation in Poland and the tasks of the party for the near future.

9 March 1988

The Gorzow Voivodship Committee discussed improving the efficiency of the economic management of the socialized enterprises in the region.

10 March 1988

Stanislaw Gabrielski, head of the Political and Organizational Section of the Central Committee, participated in a seminar in Lodz on personnel policy. The participants in the meeting were the secretaries of the factory party organizations and activists from five voivodships and specialists on personnel problems.

Slawomir Tabkowski, head of the Propaganda Section of the Central Committee, participated in the meeting of the basic party organization of the editorial offices of GLOS SZCZECINSKI. They discussed the role of mass media under socialist pluralism.

12 March 1988

The Pila Voivodship Committee defined the tasks of party organizations in implementing the economic reform in the voivodship.

The Przemysl Voivodship Committee at a joint meeting with the Voivodship Party Control and Review Commission discussed the tasks of the voivodship party organizations in reforming the economy and improving the organizational structures.

Interparty Cooperation

29 February-3 March 1988

In Havana, there was a meeting of the secretaries for international affairs of the central committees of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries. Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, led the PZPR delegation.

29 February-5 March 1988

A delegation of members of the PZPR Central Committee, miners working in the mining industry visited the USSR.

13021

Party Activities Calendar 14-27 March 1988

26000306b Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish
No 7, 6 Apr 88 p 21

[Text]

Meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee

15 March 1988

The Politburo familiarized itself with government efforts to improve market supplies and to counteract unjustified price increases and wages not motivated by the economic situation of the plant or by the level of economic efficiency. The government also reported on progress on introducing the principles of reform in enterprises and in the central economic offices.

The implementation of the provisions of the resolution of the 24th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on education and higher education was examined.

Initial discussions of materials prepared for the seventh plenum of the Central Committee which will be devoted to personnel policy were held.

22 March 1988

The Politburo examined recommendations and announcements of actions in the speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski at the ZSL congress and ordered immediate initiation of appropriate preparatory work.

Proposed changes whose goal is to simplify the system for economic and administrative control in the state were adopted.

The methods for preparing for the Third All-Polish Theoretical and Ideological Conference were discussed.

Conferences and Meetings

14 March 1988

In Warsaw a 2-day seminar for first secretaries of basic party organizations in the creative circles, cultural facilities and institutions cooperating with them was held. Experiences in the implementation of cultural policy was discussed. Tadeusz Sawic, head of the Culture Section of the Central Committee, presided over the deliberations.

16 March 1988

In Warsaw, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, presided over a conference of the first secretaries of the PZPR voivodship committees. They discussed current party tasks in implementing the tasks of the second stage of the economic reform. The secretaries and heads of the sections of the Central Committee participated in the conference.

18 March 1988

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, received Georgiy Arbatov, the director of the Institute for the USA and Canada of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, who is visiting Poland as part of an exchange of experiences between the CPSU and the PZPR on

critical international questions. Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, participated in the meeting. Vladimir Brovikov, ambassador of the USSR to Poland, was present.

A Central Committee Group for Information for Abroad has been formed. Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, member of the Politburo, chairs the group.

21 March 1988

In Warsaw, the four-day meeting of the 10th ZSL Congress began. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, delivered a speech from the podium of the congress.

The weekly PRZYJACIOLKA celebrated its 40th anniversary. On this occasion, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, sent a congratulatory letter to the journal's editors. Jan Glowczyk, member of the Politburo and secretary of the central committee, also conveyed congratulations to the journal at its ceremonies.

23 March 1988

A conference of the first secretaries of the voivodship committees was held under the leadership of Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee. The tasks of the party committees and organizations for the systematic implementation of the second stage of the economic reform were detailed. The secretaries of the Central Committee, the heads of the sections of the Central Committee, and representatives of the government participated in the conference.

24 March 1988

A meeting of the Presidium of the Central Party Control and Review Commission was held.

The Presidium evaluated the Commission's work in adjudication, control and review, prevention and education, and the voivodship and local commissions' work in the second half of 1987. Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Commission, presided over the meeting.

A course for the first secretaries of district and city committees covering questions associated with the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform was held at the Center for Party Courses of the Central Committee. The lectures were conducted by, among others, Stanislaw Gabrielski and Jerzy Swiderski (heads of sections of the Central Committee). Kazimierz Cypryński, secretary of the Central Committee, met with the course participants.

A group of lecturers of the CPSU Central Committee, led by Aleksander Cypko consultant of a section of the CPSU Central Committee, visited Poland. Andrzej Czyz, head of the Ideology Section of the Central Committee, met with the Soviet lecturers at the end of their visit.

25 March 1988

A conference of the secretaries of the voivodship committees for political and organizational affairs was held. The tasks of the party in the election campaign to the people's councils and in the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform were discussed. Kazimierz Cypryński, secretary of the Central Committee, presided over the conference.

A group of lecturers from the Bulgarian Communist Party led by Stefan Efremov, head of the Ideological Section of the BCP Central Committee, visited Poland. Andrzej Czyz, head of the Ideology Section of the PZPR Central Committee met with the Bulgarian lecturers.

In the Committees and Organizations

21 March 1988

The Lublin Voivodship Committee devoted its meeting to the role of party members in the work of the people's councils and the local self-governments.

In Katowice, the funeral for Andrzej Zabinski, party, state, and youth activists. Besides his closest family, representatives of the highest party authorities were present, including Zygmunt Muranski, Manfred Gorywoda, Janusz Kubasiewicz, and Stanislaw Ciosek.

25 March 1988

The Bydgoszcz Voivodship Committee discussed problems of personnel policy in the voivodship in the context of the resolution of the 13th plenum of the Central Committee. Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, participated in the deliberations.

The Chelm Voivodship Committee examined problems in investments in the voivodship with a view to increasing their effectiveness.

26 March 1988

The Bialystok Voivodship Committee discussed the tasks of the party committees and organizations in the voivodship in the economic reform. Kazimierz Cypryński, secretary of the Central Committee, participated in the deliberations.

The Gdansk Voivodship Committee discussed the recommendations deriving from the reporting meetings of the basic party organizations. Stanislaw Bejger, deputy member of the Politburo and first secretary of the

Voivodship Committee, presided over the deliberations. Gabriela Rembisz, deputy member of the Politburo, and Marian Kot, head of the Bureau of Letters and Inspections, participated in the meeting.

The Konin Voivodship Committee discussed the party tasks in improving the style of work with official personnel and the development of party rank and file.

The Szczecin Voivodship Committee evaluated the results in the implementation of the principles of reform in the voivodship's economy. Marek Holdakowski, head of the Economics Section of the Central Committee, participated in the deliberations.

Interparty Cooperation

16 March 1988

Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, received Michal Sztefaniak, head of the International Policy Section of the CPCZ Central Committee. The implementation of the decisions adopted at the meeting here between Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Milosz Jakesz, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee, were discussed. Ernest Kucz, head of the Foreign Section of the Central Committee, participated in the meeting.

17 March 1988

In Ulan Bator, the capital of Mongolia, the conference of the secretaries for ideological affairs of the central committees of the fraternal socialist countries ended. The PZPR delegation was led by Jan Glowczyk, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. Current problems in the ideological operations of the parties were discussed.

21-25 March 1988

A delegation of the Science, Education, and Scientific and Technical Advancement Section of the PZPR Central Committee led by its head Boguslaw Kedzia visited the USSR. It familiarized itself with the experience of the CPSU in the area of education and science.

13021

Party Identity Compromised by Social Democrat, 'Coalition' Party Ideas

26000328a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by Doc Dr Marek Mazurkiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR University Committee of Wroclaw University and member of the Executive of the PZPR Voivodship Committee: "Identity in the Face of Variety"]

[Text] There are occupations in which the obligation of civic involvement and actively shaping the attitudes of the environment in a socialist spirit weighing on people

with knowledge and able to use and transfer it is not only a moral obligation but also a legal obligation deriving from the unequivocal formulations of the provisions of the law. Such an obligation of civic and political involvement bears especially on groups of individuals performing public functions in teaching and socialist training, on teachers, scholars, and those promoting culture, in the socio-economic area.

Occasionally, situations can arise in which an individual's personal socio-political convictions conflict with the legal obligations of defending and promoting the principles weighing on him, which he internally opposes. This is above all a moral problem. It is unthinkable, it seems to me, to tolerate hypocrisy and falsehood. It is basically immoral and detrimental to character to defend values and promote civic attitudes officially without internal personal conviction on the part of the person undertaking such actions.

In my opinion, the distinct definition of one's ideological and political identity, both of entire party communities in education and training and of specific party members, takes on particular significance.

We must also be aware of the concrete difficulties facing party intellectuals, and not just them, in this area. For example, we observe that the allied parties participating in the coalition system of exercising authority are increasingly clearly accenting their service functions for the communities that they represent (I am not speaking here of the ideologically and organizationally disciplined circles of Catholics).

In spite of the huge accomplishments of our party, especially after the 10th Congress, there is still a great deal of ideological confusion in party operations in the opinion forming communities. Besides the basic trend which has its sources in the principles of scientific socialism, there are also views and positions of a social-democratic descent, which are programmatically contradictory to marxism-leninism. This situation is reflected not only in the area of ideology and training but also in some of the practical aspects of our functions. Another problem is the over emphasis on the unity of the positions of the parties participating in the coalition system while passing over the existing, natural differences in silence (I am thinking of the non-antagonistic differences). This arouses a certain lack of clarity in the fundamental party base and does not facilitate articulating a party identity.

Among the phenomena negatively affecting the sense of identity among the party members is the still unvanquished practice of it and its units taking full and complete responsibility for all the deviations that occur in the operations of the state apparatus, the economy, and also in social life. This is neither necessary nor does it reflect the real relations of forces in Poland. The situation

arouses much concern and frustration in party intellectual circles, especially those involved in activities on the fringes of their occupational interests.

What tasks derive from the socio-political situation that has developed during the last few years?

I think that among the fundamental tasks is the constant, persistent opening of a space between the party and the whole coalition of governing forces and the so-called political opposition. This means in practice a still broader opening of a dialogue with people truly critical of the authorities but accepting the constitutional order in Poland.

Second. A broad opening in culture and its free development through a variety of searches including and not blurring the existing differences in ideology.

Third. The ability to recognize the mutually penetrating changes occurring in Poland, the Soviet Union, and in other socialist countries. The political climate resulting from these changes will allow us better and more realistically to recognize and evaluate the dimensions and prospects of the changes occurring in socialism in the course of mutual discussions.

We must be aware of certain difficulties here. Some of them, among the party members themselves, lie in recent disillusionment and also in their varied abilities and inclinations to change their ways of thinking and making reform decisions. I would, however, not overestimate these difficulties. If, using an example from my university, last year we accepted 11 members, students of the upper divisions and younger scholar employees, this says something. I have reasons to say that the decision to join the party by these young members was a decision resulting from a conscious choice aware of the need for ideological self-definition and aggressive action in accord with the party program. The fact that given full respect for the democratic principles of elections to the university authorities, candidates known for their civic attitudes were elected is reason to be optimistic.

We must also recognize that the way of reconstructing democracy chosen by the party can be used by those who will exploit our openness to dialogue and experiment not to improve our system but to discredit it, to negate it completely. All attempts to win over our declared political opponents must be considered problematical.

We must oppose them with a clearly stated ideological position, with aggressive action resulting from the party program and our own, publicly revealed convictions.

13021

Gdansk, Warsaw PZPR Training Schools' Cooperation

26000288h Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
17 Mar 88 p 2

[Article: "Cooperation Between Party Schools in Warsaw and Gdynia"]

[Text] For many years the Intervoivodship Party Training Center in Gdansk and its departments have been cooperating with the PZPR Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences (ANS) in Warsaw in upgrading and enriching the forms of political training of their party members. An appendix to the cooperation agreement expanding its scope and subject matter was signed in Gdansk on 16 March.

As stated in the supplementary agreement signed by Stanislaw Bejger, deputy member of the PZPR Central Committee's Politburo and first secretary of the voivodship party committee in Gdansk, and Jeremy Maciszewski, rector of ANS, the party's training facilities will cooperate with one another, for example, in the realm of developing staff and training, in programing meritorical activity, in scientific and social research, in lecturing, informational work, and publishing. A joint program coordination council was also created to fully implement the agreement.

10790

PZPR Columnist on National Role in Building Socialism

26000330b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
16-17 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Wojna: "Broadening the Platform of Socialism"]

[Text] After the recent visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Yugoslavia and the joint declaration published there, I was asked at a meeting more or less the following question: If each party in the socialist camp will be the judge of the path of its own country to socialism, then what will be the standard for our order? Who will determine these mutual standards and who will judge what is socialist and what is not?

The background of this essentially naive statement I heard a reminder of the basic thesis pounded into our heads at party training of the decisive and universal significance of Soviet experiences for all states, so-called real socialism. Some of our countries have written that into their constitutions. If, however, at present the processes of economic and political reform are not only proceeding at varying rates in different socialist countries but the emphases in their ideological motivations are differently distributed and have different approaches in practice to fulfilling the leading role of the party—one of the basic common indicators of building socialism—and if moreover, the CPSU has dealt with some events in

its own history that until recently were considered exemplary without compromise, then there is no way not to see in all this a sign of a deep breakthrough in the implementation of socialism in life.

Is it a denial of the previous stage? No. It is a historical law that the country that first broke the way for this new form remains the standard and scale for comparison for the new form of order for a long time. Thus, British parliamentarianism, for example, maintained the model characteristics of international significance. The Constitution of the United States of America was a measure for many countries that was transferred entirely or in its essential elements to many European states. It was the order of bourgeoisie democracy that grew out of the French Revolution and the order deriving from the October Revolution created its own criteria. The adaptation of the pioneering efforts of the USSR later became a test for the correctness of the political lines of the individual people's democracies. During one period, some orthodox stalinists even viewed this as the most important indicator of socialism.

Among other reasons, this is why October 1956 was such a shock in places other than Poland. What the United Polish Workers' Party undertook at that time raised important problems for the particular role of the CPSU in the socialist camp and in the international movement of communist and workers' parties. Poland, which, not without difficulty, adapted its new order to the universal demands after 1944 (or rather let us say: not without difficulty adapted itself to what in the stalinist conception was regarded as the universal indicator of socialism), infringed on the binding standards, allowing itself the license to select its first secretary of the central committee. At the same time a spontaneous process of de-collectivization broke out in Poland, and new relations were established between the state and the Roman Catholic Church. All of these events were equivalent to entering a path of infringing on those as yet binding rules in the socialist camp. (Yugoslavia was outside of the camp, and its path of development was different.) Movements by Soviet military units stationed in Poland and Khrushchev's uninvited visit to Warsaw and the exchange of opinions between delegations of both parties, which ended in a friendly way, brought out in a dramatic way the scale of the events and the degree of emphasis the Soviet Union placed on unified rules in the camp at that time.

Still 10 years later I heard one of the editors-in-chief in Moscow say more or less: "I know I should send one of my editors to visit you more often, but few of them understand what is happening in your country."

That is how it really was. If at the beginning of the 1970's, Soviet guests visited me as editor-in-chief of *ZYCIE WARSZAWY*, discussion of the situation Poland practically always moved to questions associated with our agricultural policy, cultural policy, and policy

toward the Roman Catholic Church. In general, our information and explanations were received with interest and good will, but it did happen that some of our friends betrayed mistrust.

But the "October breakthrough" and the gradual return to Lenin foreseeing a rich palette of ways to socialism in accord with the political conditions, historical traditions, relation of forces in the given society gained increasingly broad dominance in the international workers' movement. In the end, taking into account the national peculiarities in building socialism became a commonplace repeated in nearly every inter-party declaration.

You must have this whole long, complex process before your eyes, if you want to understand what is happening in the accelerated, mutual enrichment by the socialist countries of the new reform measures in various areas, but especially in economics. Our countries are creating in this way a new pool of common results. Many similar problems are solved differently in the USSR, in Czechoslovakia, in Hungary, and differently again in Poland. In each of these countries, for example, the mechanisms for making decisions in factories is different. And this is a crucial question. The issue is the relationship of the leading center with the rights of the directors of independent enterprises, the role of the workers' self-management, and the plant council while taking into account the particular place of the party in our political system. This is the central issue in wielding power and thus in creating and distributing the national income. The premise that there is not and cannot be one standard model in this area makes reforms in the socialist countries develop on an unusually broad front. No one is accusing anyone of revisionism; everyone, however, is mutually observing the effectiveness of the his neighbors' new methods with a view to adapting what is beneficial and tested.

The Polish transformations in the order like the Constitutional Tribunal, the Chief Administrative Court, the Ombudsman for Citizens' Rights, laws on consultation and referendum are analyzed with great attention in neighboring countries. All of these together are an indirect form of codifying the leading role of the party.

What is happening in our countries directly affects the internal discussions in the communist and workers' parties of the whole world. In a sense, what the socialist countries together are creating, whether under the slogan perestroika or renewal, is of universal significance.

This, however, does not denote a reduction in the role and significance of the CPSU. To the contrary. The public and occasionally bitter settling of accounts with stalinism, joining up with the humanitarian roots of socialism, openness to developments in civilization that permit people to live better and more comfortably give the Communist Party of the Soviet Union tremendous authority. Since the end of World War II, out of which the Soviet Union came in glory as the destroyer of

fascism and the liberator of great tracts of Europe, the Soviet state has not awakened so much sympathy in all areas of the world as it does today.

A particular reason for this is Mikhail Gorbachev's peace offensive which grows out of a significant reevaluation of the previous concepts of security in the era of nuclear weapons.

Let a fragment of a statement by Fedoseyev, deputy president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, at a meeting of M. Gorbachev with Soviet intellectuals in January 1988: "The dogma was promoted (until recently—note by R.W.) that peaceful coexistence is a form of class war, that it contributes to the development of class warfare in capitalist states, and when we spoke of peace, of peaceful coexistence, we were not believed very much. What supposed peace, what peaceful coexistence, if it aids class warfare in our countries.

"Obviously the absence of this thesis in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, in the party program, freed, one might say, our hands in foreign policy and put everything on the right track. Peaceful coexistence is an area of international relations that assumes non-intervention in internal affairs. We are genuinely for peace, cooperation, joint action between states, and the issues of class warfare is an internal affair of each country."

Obviously, one could answer the question posed at the beginning in a completely different way, by following the logic of *realpolitik* and pointing to power as the factor determining the position of Soviet strength in the contemporary world. But the point is that in speaking of the contemporary position of the USSR in the world, you cannot separate Soviet military, economic, or political potential from the ideological component. Thus the departure into the past of the principle of the sole prophet and expositor of ideology in relations between socialist countries is all the greater. Socialism gains by this.

13021

PZPR Voivodship Plenums Reported

Territorial Self-Rule Promoted

26000276 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
22 Mar 88 p 2

[Article by Tomasz Orlowski: "Strengthening Local Self-Rule"]

[Text] The PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lublin devoted its 21 March plenary session to the participation of party members in the work of people's councils and territorial self-rule.

"During the people's council term that is ending," stated Stanislaw Kaper, the chairman of the Group of Party Council Members of the MRN [Municipal People's

Council] in Lublin, "in spite of many favorable phenomena, such as the growth of the autonomy of the councils and a greater sense of making decisions on the issues of one's own area, shortcomings in their activity also appeared. Some of these result from the scarcity of funds, combined with tremendous and justifiable needs—and thus the activity of many council members consists of arguing over the distribution of money for various purposes, and not seeking ways to obtain it. Changing this situation requires rapid implementation of measures that have already been announced: drawing income from local sources, creating communal property, and making it possible for councils to get bank loans."

"The concern of party members active in councils and self-government bodies," stated Roman Kornacki, the chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Municipal, "should be to strengthen the position of these bodies vis-a-vis the administration. Today the 'voivodship' still has the deciding vote on too many issues, while the council cannot even set the working hours of the office that is supposed to carry out its decisions. In order for the council to become a strong local center of authority, however, it has to get rid of people whose activity is limited to attendance at a 'motion' to open the window of the meeting room; it also cannot have in it people who lack a sense of responsibility for carrying out the tasks they have undertaken."

"The upcoming elections for the people's councils will be an opportunity to entrust the mandates to people who give guarantees that they will be able to cope with the growing demands," stated Wacław Lipa, an activist from the housing development committee of the Lublin district of Tatara. "It is necessary to expand the range of people from among whom the candidates for representative bodies are nominated."

Cadre Policy Issues Discussed

26000276 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
26-27 Mar 88 p 8

[Article by Marek Badtke: "Bydgoszcz: Chance for the Best"]

[Text] Cadre policy is not an end in itself. It is supposed to yield concrete social and economic results. It should contribute to changing ways of thinking, combat indifference, and elicit initiative from individuals and entire collectives. The party's duty, on the other hand, is to seek out and promote the best.

The progress of our economy and the improvement of our lives depend upon the right people in responsible positions. The process of economic recovery must therefore start with cadres. That is why cadre policy must be part of the process of reforming the economy and social life.

These were the main ideas of the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum in Bydgoszcz on 25 March, which dealt with the problem of cadre policy in the context of the voivodship's implementation of the resolutions of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The meeting, in which Jozef Baryla participated, made it possible to give more profound consideration to the decisive role of cadres in reforming Polish reality.

"The complexity of the problem and the necessity of eliminating many habits have caused cadre policy to gather momentum so far only in the verbal sphere," stated Janusz Maka from Bydgoszcz during the discussion. "There are circles where it is still difficult to break up the existing systems and ties, and instead of enterprise, innovation, and independent thinking, loyalty and not rocking the boat are more highly prized. Opportunistic attitudes slow the pace of Polish restructuring. In the meantime, incompetent people are holding onto their positions firmly and for a long time. In many plants and circles, the 'job merry-go-round' has not lost its *raison d'être*."

A chance for reversing this unfavorable situation lies in cadre policy, understood as an instrument for realizing economic and social goals. The humanistic value of this process was emphasized in the discussion.

"An individual's career," it was said, "should be closely tied to collective success. The road to that goal leads through broader consideration of advances in rank, and an expansion of evaluations taking into account the opinion of the social and professional organizations and the scientific and technical associations operating at an enterprise."

"It is time to promote the best people without regard to party membership," stated, among other things, Robert Kwasny from Chojnice. "At the same time, clear principles for promotion must be in effect. The creation of a so-called cadre reserve cannot take place by default, and work with that group cannot be an ordinary fiction," said Ewa Piotrowska from Bydgoszcz's Telfa.

The humanistic emphasis of cadre policy is also manifested as the utilization of chances by all those who are ambitious, or even want to be good at what they do every day.

"It is certainly time to give a chance to young, capable, self-confident, and competent people, but this does not mean renouncing the experiences of their elders. The best people should be rewarded. There is no greater wealth than human intelligence," stated Malgorzata Skonieczna of Bydgoszcz, the vice chairman of the CKKR.

"Scientific and technical progress automatically advances the young, who possess the freshest knowledge. On the other hand," stated Adam Rymer of Bydgoszcz, "there is still a lack of feedback between science and

industry. This limits the professional scope of young people. A properly conducted cadre policy should take into account the existence of moral and material incentives for efficient work."

"The party's work with cadres is one of the principal tasks of the PZPR," it was stated in Bydgoszcz. "The reform mechanisms do not operate by themselves. People are the driving force. The thing is for the party organizations to have authority and contact with the work force."

"That is the way it is with us, for example," stated OOP [primary party organization] secretaries Jozef Wasiak from Celuloza in Swiecie and Stanislaw Blaszczyk from the Bydgoszcz ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops]. "At present, we have good principles for cadre policy. It is up to us, below, whether the reforms in the economy and the political system will be realized through human actions."

It was stated at the plenum that the problem of cadre work should thus simply be settled and not wrangled about. Only then will we as a party be satisfied with the conduct of the reform process taking place in people's hearts and minds, which is currently the most important one.

Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took part in the plenary discussion, and said, among other things:

"The program of the second stage of the economic reform and the further democratization of sociopolitical life should have strong support from cadre policy. The new rules of the economic reform can be implemented only by people who are well prepared for this and are highly competent. One's attitude toward the reforms, determination to adopt them, innovation, courage to take certain risks, high efficiency, and effectiveness in solving complex problems should be a sort of permit required for occupying management positions.

"The party is strongly emphasizing its desire to promote such people to management positions. At the same time, it is advocating the removal from management positions of people who are not keeping pace with the spirit of the times, who are indifferent, without initiative, and ineffective. We are currently conducting a critical analysis of the results of cadre policy to date, and emphasizing the urgency of what is good, what proves itself, and what ought to be changed or whether new and more effective solutions should be put into effect."

Among the shortcomings in the implementation of cadre policy, the Central Committee secretary cited the following:

—shallow and slack evaluation of cadres, and a tendency to offer the justification of "objective circumstances";

—an unsystematic approach to cadre work, and a perfunctory treatment of cadre reserves; and

—substantive and organizational deficiencies in the system of competitive procedures for appointing cadres.

Discussing the coalition method of exercising authority, the speaker emphasized that it expanded the social base of cadre policy. The party's leading role is expressed through its sense of special responsibility for state and economic management cadres. The essence of the issue lies in guiding oneself by the principle of "the best one is our man."

The Central Committee Secretary also called attention to the irregularities occurring in the implementation of the principles of cadre policy by individual party elements. Sometimes this results from an improper understanding and application of statutory powers, such as the assessment and recommendation of cadres by party organizations and echelons.

"Decentralization in the state and the economy also requires the decentralization of some cadre decisions," J. Baryla stated. "The shifting of the center of gravity for cadre decisions downward should be accompanied by a greater socialization of cadre policy and a new outlook on the political acceptance of management cadres. In this context, attention should be given to the suggestions made here on the subject of forming plant cadre commissions. The coordination of candidacies by party organizations, self-management bodies, trade unions, youth organizations, and other public organizations would take place within their framework."

The Central Committee secretary said that an important element of cadre policy is seeking to have continually growing participation by workers and peasants, especially young ones, in people's councils, in the leadership of self-management and union organizations, in economic management cadres, and in inspection organizations, including IRCh.

The resolution adopted at the end of the meeting emphasized, among other things, the necessity of improving cadre policy. Among other things, this will be manifested in a further expansion of the so-called social base of this process. Furthermore, the PZPR Voivodship Committee recommended increased efforts to create opportunities for outstanding workers to advance to higher levels—improving their professional qualifications and fulfilling their aspirations in public activity. The standing of the cadre reserve will also be raised in the region. The requirements for management cadres will also be higher.

Housing, Investment Issues Viewed

26000276 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
26-27 Mar 88 p 8

[Article by Witold Grabos: "Chelm: What Should Be Changed in Order for Investment Outlays To Yield Results More Quickly?"]

[Text] The Chelm voivodship is in 33rd place in the country with respect to living conditions and the standard of living. Housing conditions and the water supply are worse than the national average in nearly a third of the districts, there are fewer paved roads, and the level of services is poorer. In the cities, there is a shortage not only of apartments, but also cultural and educational institutions, athletic and recreational facilities, and trade and service facilities. The investment needs are sizable, but resources are limited. How, then, can investment processes be made more efficient, so that the money spent will yield the greatest possible results? This problem was the main subject of the plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Chelm on 25 March, which was chaired by First Secretary Stefan Lyczak.

Only the housing construction plan was fulfilled last year with a certain surplus. It is difficult to make too much of that fact, however, since the plan for the current 5-year period is seriously threatened. During the last 2 years, a total of 2,758 apartments have been completed, which amounts to 32 percent of the 5-year tasks adopted.

Considerably worse results were achieved, for example, in education and upbringing. Last year, among other things, 3 planned preschools, schools, health centers, and nursery schools were not provided.

Expert groups appointed before the plenum stated that investment planning often did not take into account the actual financial and construction capabilities, and that the principle in effect was often getting started, and not completing things on time.

"Until recently," Eugeniusz Wojcik, Chelm's deputy governor, stated during the discussion, "we were not able to resist the temptation to adopt investment tasks that corresponded more to the needs than the realities. It is a paradox that this sort of conduct is due to good will and supported by the local authorities and society. Nevertheless, as long as the legal system does not provide local entities with the conditions for real autonomy in undertaking investments, on the basis of their own incomes, the tendency toward unrealistic planning will reappear."

A critical assessment was made of the work of contractors, and it was suggested that they should be transformed from budgetary entities into self-financing enterprises responsible for the preparation and completion of investment tasks. The growing problems with land development were discussed. New housing developments are appearing on the outskirts of the cities, which means a need for greater outlays. It is therefore necessary to survey and utilize undeveloped land in the cities.

"One may boldly advance the thesis," the report stated, "that if the existing construction capacity were properly organized and regularly supplied, the current housing construction cycle could be shortened by 2-3 months."

"Other unfavorable phenomena," it was stated during the discussion, "are administrative expansion in construction enterprises (there is an average of one white-collar employee for every 3 workers in a production group); the low level of the organization of labor, the lack of a link between performance and pay, and a high fluctuation in the labor force. The team system of organizing work is constantly encountering difficulties."

There are exceptions to this situation. One of them is the Voivodship Engineering Construction Enterprise in Chelm. The director of that enterprise, Kazimierz Zubinski, emphasized that team forms of organizing work were proving themselves at his enterprise, and that an agent system had been instituted since last September. It is contributing to the growth of productivity and emoluments (they have grown by over 31 percent).

Lucjan Korzeniowski, secretary of the POP [primary party organization] at the Chelm Construction Enterprise, criticized the practice of thoughtlessly purchasing designs whose completion is expensive and technologically difficult. Waldemar Kuligowski, the first secretary of the PZPR Municipal Committee in Krasnystaw, cited this view, and proposed that the voivodship establish a unit that would deal with the preparation for investment together with preparing the design.

The participants agreed that the capabilities of plants, craftsmen, and small cooperatives should be utilized in construction. Among other things, the local brick factories, which require modernization, were discussed. It is worth noting that the cost per square meter of a building in Chelm completed by the traditional method is 38,000 zlotys, and the cost of one constructed from large sheets is 53,000 zlotys.

Great hopes have been placed in the new formal and legal standards being prepared in the field of construction. In this regard, inefficient solutions were pointed out, such as the system for financing cooperative construction.

"We are hoping," it was stated during the plenum, "that when the territorial units are provided with new legal-financial and personnel opportunities, they will be able actually to decide on the scope and sequence of investments in their areas."

'Selective' Reform Support Noted

26000276 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by Alicja Zagorska: "Bialystok: The Poor Ones Must Go"]

[Text] "How should one interpret the fact that some people are able to cooperate with the reform, but not others?" This question was posed by Stanislaw Herman,

a metalworker from the Mototransport cooperative, during a plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Bialystok. Similar questions have accompanied the branch information-report meetings, the suggestions, comments, and views from which were an important element in preparing for that plenum. It was devoted to the party's tasks in strengthening enterprises, the basic elements in reforming the economy and increasing party oversight during the second stage of the reform.

Among the Bialystok enterprises, there are many that have achieved positive financial results, demonstrated efficient production, and been characterized by low production costs and high product quality. More numerous, however, are enterprises that have a selective understanding of the principles of the reform.

"In calling for reform," Waldemar Solomianko, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at Unitra-Biazet, "we ourselves are not always setting an example."

"What plant," said Witold Karczewski, the chairman of the WPZZ, "will admit that its production is bad and expensive? It supports reform, but on the part of others."

"The picture of management cadres that emerges from the recently conducted sociological research," said Jozef Kowalczyk, the first secretary of the PZPR Municipal Committee in Bialystok, "inclines one toward gloomy reflections: most of them are pessimists, rarely look at professional literature, and are not familiar with basic normative documents. The evaluation of management cadres should thus become an ally of the reform."

Summing up the varied discussion, Kazimierz Cypryniak, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, emphasized that in the reform process, it was important to avoid making illusory progress and creating papers testifying that something was being done. One should have a conscientious attitude toward the reform. Bad solutions will not bring as much shame as reluctance to improve them and seek better ones.

The plenary meeting was chaired by Wlodzimierz Kolodziejuk, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Bialystok.

More 'Open' Party Meetings

26000276 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by Andrzej Kalinowski and Zbigniew Wrobel: "Gdansk: Suggestions From POP Reports Meetings"]

[Text] The eyes of society are on the party. It is with the party that a citizen associates the direction and pace of the transformations that are taking place. Today this view is a critical one, critical and still often full of distrust.

The party cannot give up on continually expanding its influence and concern for full realization of the program adopted at the 10th Congress. Concern about this accompanied the primary and departmental party organizations of the Gdansk coast in preparing for and holding their reports meetings, as emphasized by the members of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk during a plenary meeting.

The discussion at the reports meetings, the members of the Voivodship Committee plenum said in their statements, reflected the apprehensions and worries occurring in individual areas. At some plants, for example, the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, as reported by Wiktor Borcuch, the first secretary of the plant committee, over half of the reports meetings were open ones.

"The knowledge obtained," emphasized, among others, Krystyna Styn, a farmer from Zelistrzewo in the Puck district, "must bear fruit in the concrete activities of all elements and members of the PZPR."

In discussing the party's tasks, a great deal of attention was devoted to a way of solving the problems raised in letters and complaints sent to PZPR organizations and echelons. As Henryk Kowalski, the chairman of the Voivodship Committee's Commission for Complaints and Messages From the Populace, pointed out, rapid response to issues making life more difficult for people should become a standard for the action of all party organizations, since only this can settle conflicts, dissolve tensions, and gain recognition for the work of the party.

The problems raised during the discussion were cited by a participant in the plenum, Gabriela Rembisz, a candidate member of the Politburo.

The meeting was chaired by Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship Committee. Marian Kot, the chief of the Central Committee's Office of Letters and Inspections, was also present.

Konin on Growth, Youth Issues

26000276 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by Henryk Heller: "Old Habits Pull Downward"]

[Text] In spite of the visible progress in the process of modernizing the party's work and adapting it to the changes in the economy and social life, habits, conservatism and traditions derived from times with different political and social aspects still have considerable strength.

It was stated in the report from the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee that was delivered at the Voivodship Committee plenum in Konin that the work

of many of our echelons is still suffering from an old style of work: contacts not with party organizations, but with plant managements, even though so much is currently being said about shifting to political methods of management.

Among the problems affecting party attitudes, considerable attention was given to the issues of cadre policy, the growth of party ranks, and work with youth organizations.

Aleksandra Potocka from Kolo, speaking about the necessity of party members' daily activity and the essential presence of the party in all rural and urban milieux, emphasized the issue of increasing party ranks. In 1987, 890 candidates were accepted in Konin, including 526 workers and farmers. This, however, took place in only 469 POPs and OOPs [district party organizations] out of the 1,540 in operation. Young people constitute about 50 percent of the recently accepted candidates.

It was said during the discussion that it was necessary to have a new system for evaluating management cadres, while simultaneously expanding their autonomy. This, however, requires heightening the requirements imposed on people in management positions, and increasing their responsibility for the proper implementation and acceleration of the process of reforming the economy. The past system of promoting cadres is characterized by a lack of appropriate mechanisms that would eliminate poor ones, and reward creative ones with initiative and ambitions.

The meeting was chaired by Lech Ciupa, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee.

Positive Results in Szczecin

26000276 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by Henryk Prawda: "Szczecin: Can Be Even Better"]

[Text] It is possible to draw one conclusion from the documents presented during the plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Szczecin and the report from the Voivodship Committee's Executive Board, and as a result of many hours of discussion: the Szczecin voivodship is in the forefront of the economic reform. The very good socioeconomic results during 1986-1987 and in the first quarter of 1988 indicate this.

In accordance with the spirit of the reform, far-reaching changes in efficiency are taking place here, there is rapid growth in production and services, and there is dynamic growth in exports, which have exceeded 20 percent of total production. New and unconventional economic structures setting the pace of renewal are appearing.

"But even being in the forefront, it is still possible to speed up the reform, immediately, as part of its second stage," it was stated at the plenum. That is because even in this region, there are many negative factors that obstruct changes. As stated by Stanislaw Miskiewicz, the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, at many enterprises we still have to deal with occurrences of inefficient employment, a mere pretense of conserving raw and other materials, faltering scientific and technical progress, a standstill in modernization, and poor organization of labor.

The resolution adopted by the plenum promises, among other things, increased efficiency in employment by accelerating the review and certification of jobs, broader utilization of group forms of organization of labor, the development of permanent coproduction ties, entering into new forms of organizational and capital ties, the introduction of free production capacity and developed areas, utilization of the new opportunities created by the free zone, and further reconstruction of the Szczecin economy in order to develop exports and make public services more efficient. Marek Holdakowski, chief of the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee, participated in the meeting.

Difficult Rural Conditions Noted

26000276 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Mar 88 p 2

[Article by Alicja Zagorska: "PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Suwalki: Equalizing Pressure Upward"]

[Text] Under the conditions of the economic reform, do the farmers of Mazury and the Suwalki area have a chance to improve their results, and thus increase their income and improve their living conditions?—this was the central issue of the discussion at the plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Suwalki, devoted to the status and directions of development of livestock production in the voivodship.

It is generally known that Suwalki farmers work in difficult conditions; harsher and longer winters, a shorter period of vegetation, extremely irregular terrain, etc. In spite of this, they are achieving better and better results. About two thirds of the production of meat and dairy products is allocated for supplying residents of other voivodships.

Arable land is still an unutilized chance for Suwalki agriculture. The crops obtained are low, and their quality is not the best. Last year's high yield of all types of livestock for slaughter, however, does not represent a growth trend.

The farmers who took part in the discussion argued in support of the unprofitability of some agricultural sectors. Tadeusz Jaglowski from Poniz demonstrated the unprofitability of raising sheep, especially for wool, in

comparison with other sectors of agricultural production. Ryszard Falkowski discussed the declining trends in raising pigs. He pointed out the need to increase deliveries of protein fodder for pig raisers.

Nevertheless, as stated by Michal Markiewicz, director of the department of agriculture, forestry, and water management at the UW in Suwalki, unprofitability is discussed mainly by those farmers whose products are expensive, below their own costs, and who do not develop their livestock raising.

Zbigniew Michalek, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stated in summing up the plenary discussion that agriculture was an important part of the economy, and that if things were good in the economy they would also be better in agriculture. The emphasis on the profitability of crop production was due to a simple reason: first in the field, then in the barn, and then on the table. Adapting crop production to meat production would yield positive trends in agriculture, and this should be taken into account.

The plenary meeting was chaired by Waldemar Berdya, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Suwalki.

9909

PZPR Lecturers Prepare for People's Councils Elections

26000288c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
30 Mar 88 p 2

[Article: "Meeting of Lecturers"]

[Text] On 29 March, a meeting was held at the PZPR Central Committee to prepare the group of activist lecturers for party activity in the campaigns preceding elections to the peoples councils. Attending the meeting were Central Committee lecturers and representatives of lecturers of the PZPR voivodship committees.

The party's tasks in the peoples council election campaign was presented by Stanislaw Gabrielski, head of the Political Organization Department of the PZPR Central Committee, who responded to numerous questions on the subject.

10790

PZPR Research Institute on Working Class Issues Lengthy Report

26000346a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28 Apr 88 p 4

[Article: "Ideology, Policy, Relationships: Worker Aspirations"]

[Text] A workers' party needs a deep understanding of the class whose interests it has a primary duty to represent. For many years we have been without comprehensive scientific research on this subject. Now such

research has been done and can serve as a basis for comparing the party's policy with what the workers expect from it.

This is also very important for all state officials, considering the fact that workers and their families comprise the largest social class in Poland. Their productive activity determines the size of national income, but the meeting of this class's needs and aspirations is not done at the cost of other social strata.

For several years the Institute of Working Class Research of the PZPR's Academy of Social Sciences has been working to prepare an thorough-going analysis of the situation of the working class in Poland. Up to the present six volumes have been published containing the findings of this research, and now we are presenting the seventh, "Workers' Needs and Aspirations," which is something of a summary of the whole work. The research was done under the scientific direction of Prof Leszek Gilejko and Prof Przemyslaw Wojcik. In the introduction to the seventh volume they include the following statement:

"...the collective advancement of the working class does not conflict with overcoming the crisis and should be a component part of the program for overcoming it. Unfortunately, in previous anticrisis studies and programs and in reform drafts, the needs and aspirations of the working class have been generally treated as interference, as a barrier to economic activity and the reforming of the economy. The research results which we have published... contradict these opinions.... Work comes second only to the family among the values of particular importance to workers. Workers see themselves as working people. They would like to work with some sense, be satisfied with it, and feel satisfaction.... One of the greatest dilemmas of society that was to insure the liberation of work was the wage crisis, satisfaction with vagueness and inefficiency.... Under these conditions it is understandable that workers would aspire to subjectivity, to perceiving their own dignity and that of the work they perform. For reasons we can understand, it becomes one of the most important goals of socialism, of values which the working class would like to make a general social rule, an element of the social order they prefer."

The seventh volume contains very interesting research results on the values workers esteemed, as they expressed them between 1968 and 1984. This makes it possible to compare workers' views, how they changed, and what remained constant in them. What their relationship is to socialism, and what their ideal of a good system is. How they understand social justice and what they think about pluralism (Adam Sarapata, Marek Ziolkowski, Adam Bartosik, Marek Czarzasty, and Andrzej Tudek write about this). There is also a summary of research on the material situation and needs of workers, along with their attitude to social pathology (Lidia Beskid, Maria Jaroszinska, Zbigniew Sufin, Michal Winiewski). The analyses of workers' participation in education and culture are

disturbing (Tadeusz W. Nowacki, Grazyna Koptas, Bronislaw Golebiowski). At the end of the seventh volume the authors of the work present reports on the situation of workers; the condition of worker self-management, their long-range prospects, and things that threaten them; workers' attitudes to the economic reform, working conditions, and the living conditions of workers; problems of workers' subjectivity, and workers' political representation in the party and in the administration.

In many instances, the research done contradicts popular opinion on workers' views. Here are some examples. Among other things, when asked what principles should be employed in distributing bonuses, 74.3 percent said that they would grant the most to those who worked the best, while only 1.1 percent said those who had not received a bonus in a long time, and 2.2 percent said those who had been employed the longest. Furthermore, 75.9 percent of those asked came out in favor of a wage level determined by the work done, while only 17.4 percent were for wages determined by the needs of citizens.

When we talk about the internal differentiation of the working class, we usually deal in generalities. In this volume many concrete examples of this differentiation can be found, for example, in terms of age, education, or organizational membership. There are differences, for example, in views on the subject of the relationship to the planned economy (67.6 percent "in favor" have an elementary school education, 55.2 percent have a secondary school diploma), or to free competition (responses were 25.0 and 41.7 percent in favor, respectively). Analysis of these differences in views also provides some indication of how the slogans and programs find greater or lesser support in which groups of workers.

The deliberations of the authors of the research on the question of the differences in generations are interesting. The greater the advancement of the workers' parents and the greater their cultural advancement, the greater the demands of the children of workers who see their own possibilities for advancement limited.

The participants in the research also made statements on the subject of the sources of conflict between various groups and employees. Workers are most upset by so-called access and agreements, that is, merit system of wages which is not actually related to the quality of work, and likewise by showy consumption by the nouveau riche, which shows off the possessions of a fortunate few.

It is not possible to go into greater detail in discussing the research results contained in a volume of nearly 600 pages. In closing, therefore, I should like to quote from the conclusions written by the scientific directors of the research:

"No leadership in the world...can use the richest part of society as a basis. Therefore, the so-called average is crucial....The Polish new bourgeoisie will always compare its standard of living to the West, but not its own work or its effectiveness....

Submitting to conservative bureaucratic pressures and listening to their technocratic market adversaries lead nowhere.... An offensive anticrisis program...should be based on the principles of social justice and socialist egalitarianism. Egalitarianism applies to the sphere of social relations and not the sphere of the distribution ratios, except for those people who are in want for reasons not of their own making. "Equalization" in distribution conflicts with the principle of "Each according to his own work," and it is contrary to both Marxism and the demands of workers. On the other hand, egalitarianism means that people are not evaluated in terms of their 1) riches, 2) position or duties, 3) vocation. On the other hand, people are differentiated in terms of their reliability on the job and according to their individual and social honesty."

Unfortunately, a very small number of copies of this volume was published. All the more reason to try to become familiar with the research presented in it. Altogether this research should help define the party's worker policy on behalf of workers.

10790

Need for New Association Law Discussed

26000328b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
8 Apr 88 p 1

[Comments by Col Marian Jasak, deputy director of the Social and Administration Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, recorded by Jan Ordynski: "On the Law on Associations"; first paragraph is RZECZPOSPOLITA introduction]

[Text] For some time both in the concerned communities and in the press there has been a continuing discussion of the new law on associations. The preparation of the working version of this document was assigned to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Thus, we went for information on the preparatory work to Marian Jasak, deputy director of the Social and Administrative Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The idea to create a new law, a law on associations, implements a decision of the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses. The problem was also discussed at the sixth plenum of the central committee. These actions are also in accord with the recommendations of the First and Second PRON Congresses. They called for a change in the current law from 1932. They particularly emphasized the need to change the standards that make permission to form an association dependent on so-called social

benefit. The second proposal is to make decisions by the administration affecting associations subject to review by the Chief Administrative Court.

The debate on the change of the law of 1932 has included statements that the law is out of date, that it was created in other socio-political conditions. This is true with the reservation that there are states in which associations are founded on even older laws, in France, for example, from 1901.

In Poland, it is worth noting, more than 2,000 organizations operate on the basis of the decree of the president of the Republic of 1932, including 39 public organizations, more than 1,900 so-called registered organizations, and 46 regular ones. Poland is one of the few countries with so many associations.

In discussing the problem of changing the law on associations, the possibility of amending the current regulations was considered. Finally, it was decided, however, to create a new law. We want to include all the good aspects of the current one, but to add what is associated with the process of democratization in the socio-political life of Poland. The fundamental problem then is to ensure the opportunity to fully implement the citizens' rights to associate included in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Poland. The new standards should be congruent with the International Pact on Civic and Political Rights of 1966 of which Poland is a signatory. In effect, it will be possible to form any association with the reservation that its formation will not threaten the fundamental constitutional order, state security, and legal order.

We foresee limiting the interference of the registering bodies to the essential minimum. This will ensure the organizations greater independence of action. Already it is possible to gain greater independence, if just by earning the resources for implementing the charter goals and thus limiting the use of budget subsidies. The very fact of subsidies assumes the need for interference. Clearly, now and in the future there will be organizations receiving subsidies. Mainly those aiding or supporting state bodies (for example, the Polish Social Assistance Committee, the Polish Red Cross). But already without waiting for new standards permission to conduct economic activities is given fairly commonly.

Against this background, however, some misunderstandings do occur. We take the position that associations, as before, should not be profit oriented; the funds earned through economic activities should not be divided among the members but should be used for implementing the charter goals.

The new law also calls for a decisive broadening of the opportunities for associations to undertake activities of state bodies.

In order to simplify the procedure we intend to give up the requirement to legalize the local units of associations. If the approved charter calls for the formation of such units, it will not be necessary to obtain approval for forming them. We also see the necessity for making possible greater legal participation by school youth in associations. Under current regulations, they can belong only to units of public associations, for example, the Polish Scout Union. The new law will permit young people to belong to all the associations existing in schools.

The law will be comprehensive and include all civic organizations operating under the current law on associations other than those whose legal status derives from particular laws (the Polish Red Cross, the Volunteer Fire Brigades, the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia).

Currently, there are three types of associations, public, registered, and regular. It is assumed that this division will be retained, although the issue of regular associations is a debatable problem. Now there are only few of them and about 700 individuals belong to them. Thus, they play a small role.

The conception of the future law aims to ensure the release of initiative, entrepreneurship, the creation of better conditions for meeting citizens' aspirations. For several years, without waiting for it, great freedom in creating new organizations has been ensured. Organizations with similar programs of action are frequently founded. This favors competition. Simultaneously, some organizations die. the activeness of particular associations is thus not dependent on legal conditions.

Work on the design of the law is underway. It is hard to say when a mature proposal will be ready. The problem is of unusually great social significance. We expect to conduct consultations with groups and discussions in the larger associations. We are waiting for the opinions of citizens which we will use in our work.

13021

Consumer Federation Activist Favors Expansion of Group's Concerns

26000330a Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
14 Apr 88 p 3

[Interview with Dr Malgorzata Niepokulczycka, chairwoman of the Consumer Federation, by Krystyna Gasiorowska: "Consumers, Don't Be So Passive!"]

[Text]

[Question] The economic reform is under way, but the consumers' problems are obviously not disappearing, although for seven years in Poland there has been an organization whose chief goal is to protect consumers' interests. On what does the effectiveness of this organization depend? How should we fight for our rights?

[Answer] The basic condition for success in obtaining these rights is knowing them well. Unfortunately, we have observed that the degree of knowledge of consumers' rights is far from satisfactory on both sides of the counter. The daily work of our local units, the clubs of the Consumer Federation, daily produce evidence of this situation.

A basic legal act which consumers can use is, for example, Resolution No 71 of the Council of Ministers of June 1983 that regulates problems associated with warranties and guarantees. It speaks, for example, of the right to return goods, to complain of faulty goods, improvements in guarantees, etc. Everyone should know these regulations and demand their rights. But violations of these rights are common, and the consumers are not always aware that the producers or retailers are dealing with them unfairly. The Clubs of the Consumer Federation are to help in learning one's rights and obtaining them. They are open to all.

[Question] Are there many of these clubs?

[Answer] There are more than 80 active ones and they have about 1,000 members. It is worth remembering that initially in 1981 when our consumers' organization was formed the organizing group consisted of 40 individuals. This year five new clubs have been formed.

[Question] The Polish Federation was accepted as a member of the International Consumers' Union, recognized by the United Nations. In order to become a member, an organization must have demonstrated accomplishments.

[Answer] We have demonstrated enough to be accepted. Recently on 15 March we celebrated the World Day for Consumers' Rights with the Union.

[Question] What generally speaking are these rights?

[Answer] For example, the right to meet one's basic needs for nutrition, housing, clothing, and education. Or also the right to protection from products dangerous to health or life. Or the right to social security, reliable information and consumers' education, to present one's interests in the bodies shaping social policy, evaluations of goods and services put on the market. The consumer also has the right to affirmative handling of his justified complaints about goods and services, and finally also life in a healthy natural environment.

[Question] You fight for all these things? I thought that until now the Consumer Federation had fought mostly for quality goods.

[Answer] You see, consumption is a very broad notion, and all of the elements mentioned above are only some of its component parts. We have understood our task broadly from the very beginning, and the struggle for quality of production and services is the axle around

which the activities of our organization revolve. It is true that we devote a great deal of attention, effort, and energy to quality since that is the basic problem which we must solve to keep our economy from collapsing. Poor quality costs all of us and the whole country too much. Thus, our plan: by improving quality to achieve market stability. Stabilizing the market in a purely formal manner means prices on the one hand and the production of junk on the other; we are making only an apparent effort. Producing a green sausage, an inedible bread, so-called consumer durables that constantly breakdown will certainly not overcome inflation and will not improve the domestic market, not to mention foreign trade. One can say that fighting for quality goods and services we are fighting for a quality life. And this is our main task.

[Question] Your own publication through which you could educate the broad mass of consumers would be useful.

[Answer] Obviously, anyone who wants to, will bring his problems to us. We give free legal advice, but it would be good to educate society more broadly about all the possible threats, methods, and forms of defense, as is done in other countries in which there are consumers' organizations. A consumers' magazine, a monthly ATUT, is being founded, and we hope that it will serve society well.

[Question] What concrete things have you been able to solve during these few years of activity?

[Answer] For example, the change of Polish standards which allowed to many nitrates in curing meat. After such curing meat has to be sure a beautiful rose color, but "thanks" to the nitrates cancer-causing compounds collect in the body. We were able to have stores sell uniform varieties of potatoes and not a mixture of various kinds. We also caused the production of Sloneczna margarine. The Ministry of Agriculture in the face of our petitions finally declared a stable supply of baking flour.

The Federation has made efforts to begin production of non-dairy margarine for individuals suffering from celiaca, and we hope that shortly it will begin. For years we have helped the dairy cooperatives in their efforts to produce milk with an extended shelf life. We have applied, among others, to the chairman of the Planning Commission to award us convertible currency for buying the necessary equipment. The convertible currency has been given to us, and we are waiting impatiently for the realization of our intentions.

[Question] Has the attitude of the authorities to your organization changed over the course of these few years?

[Answer] The first steps were really difficult; I probably do not need to remind you how difficult the times were when we came into existence. I think, however, that we have shown with our daily activities the reason for and

the necessity for the functions of such an organization. It seems to me that the form of recognition for our work was the presence at the last congress of the Federation of such individuals as Deputy Premier J. Koziol, Deputy Marshall of the Sejm J. Ozdowski, or Minister of the Domestic Market J. Jozwiak. All of them declared their support for our activities in their speeches.

[Question] I think that the Consumer Federation has much to say in many issues because you are a deputy to the Sejm?

[Answer] Not just for this reason. Many members of the Federation actively participate in the work of the various groups that have influence on the quality of life broadly considered. For example, in the Socio-Economic Council of the Sejm, in the Council on Family Affairs, in the Council for the Market Development Fund, in the Group for Motorists of the Polish Motorists' Union, etc.

[Question] What are you doing in the Polish Motorists' Union?

[Answer] We began an initiative to form a Group for the Protection of Motorists. The Polish Motorists' Union took it up, and there is now such a group. The consumers are defending themselves so well it is a pleasure to see.

[Question] Concerning motorization. I heard that recently you complained about the monopoly practices of Polmozbyt?

[Answer] Yes, to the recently formed Department to Counteract Monopolization of the National Economy of the Ministry of Finance. We presented a recommendation to begin action against Polmozbyt which in our opinion illegally raised the prices for cars. We know from the answer received that the department has taken up our recommendation and gone to Polmozbyt and the National Bank of Poland for an explanation.

[Question] You could not as a Federation convinced of the correctness of the citizens' rights go to court in this matter?

[Answer] We could not, and this is precisely where the bone of contention lies. The Federation does not have the right to bring an action to court either in individual cases nor in class-action cases. We did petition, however, for such rights to the Commission for the Reform of the Civil Code at the ministry of justice. We are waiting on the completion of that commission's work, which, however, will last a couple of years. Perhaps a more rapid resolution can be found.

[Question] What are fighting for now?

[Answer] For healthy food, but especially for healthy milk, meat, and agricultural products. Milk and milk products are one of the basic food products, and they are

frequently polluted mechanically and contaminated biologically. Statistical studies, for example, of meat have shown inappropriate quality in more than 36 percent of the samples tested. The remains of the antibiotics or other medical preparations given animals have a negative influence on meat and meat products. Various dangerous substances, for example, toxic metals get into food from the polluted natural environment. Fruit and vegetables show somewhat less of a threat to health, but it is necessary to fight against them being contaminated with pesticides or nitrates. We have made a number of proposals in this matter to the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of the Domestic Market, and the Chief National Sanitary Inspectorate.

[Question] How does the Federation support itself?

[Answer] Chiefly from subsidies of the Ministry of Finance. But we use these funds without difficulties. The budget receives very large sums also thanks to our struggle with poor quality. Moreover, we are beginning to earn funds ourselves. In Slupsk the local club of the Consumer Federation has a information center on services. The legal office in Szczecin that gives paid advice also produces some income. Further, we intend to recommend undertaking various research projects in the area of quality. Our members also pay dues. There are many sources of money.

[Question] What would you like to say to all consumers to close our conversation?

[Answer] If you want to be a consumer and not a supplicant, then know your rights and fight for them. Not knowing your rights always turns against you. Thus, consumer, don't be passive, join the Federation!

13021

Aleksandrowicz on Fiscal Health of Shipyards, Steel Mills

26000339 Warsaw *PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY* in Polish No 20, 15 May 88 p 2

[Editorial by Piotr Aleksandrowicz: "Who Is Who"]

[Text] Out of the 500 largest manufacturing industry enterprises in Poland, 310 received subsidies or support last year. This number epitomizes the confusion and muddle in the Polish economy last year. The latest "List of 500 [largest industrial enterprises]" in *ZARZADZANIE* monthly provides more details.

In this instance, it is worthwhile to look at the list in order to learn some details about enterprises which have been the focus of public attention in recent days.

First, there is the shipbuilding industry. One can clearly see two groups of shipyards in it. The largest shipyards, the Commune of Paris and the Lenin, yet again survived last year only due to multibillion government subsidies

(12 and 5.5 billion zlotys). Despite this, their profit margins are very low. We already wrote about their problems a year ago (*PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY* 1987, No 31), and the title said verbatim: "The Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk Owes the Bank 31.2 Billion Zlotys and the Suppliers 5.7 Billion Zlotys." Therefore, the recently published information, e.g. about the Commune of Paris shipyard signing contracts for large bulk carriers with France, is somewhat surprising. After all, structural changes were supposed to be based on building smaller, special-cargo ships rather than mighty hulls of steel. An optimistic evaluation of the last year, recently given by Minister [Under Secretary of State in the Ministry of Transport, Navigation and Communications] Nowotnik at a meeting of the Maritime Commission of the PZPR CC, is borne out to a degree in this case. Likewise, the views of the commission members who, according to press reports, called for the banks to acknowledge a special status of the shipbuilding industry indicate industry-wide rather than economy-wide vision.

The A. Warski shipyard ranks in the middle of the shipyard list; the economic performance there appears to be improving relatively steadily.

The second group consists of enterprises turning in decent results. It comprises primarily smaller shipyards, among other things, repair docks which have received either no or a moderate amount of subsidies, and yet have a high profit margin. This is the case with the Northern and Repair Shipyard in Gdansk, the "Gryfia" in Szczecin and the "Nauta" in Gdynia. Wages in the shipbuilding industry are comparatively high; last year they amounted to about 40,000 zlotys, whereas the average for "the 500" was about 31,000 zlotys.

Therefore, the statement that closing down the entire Polish shipbuilding industry is in order is not true. At the same time, one is inclined to think that shrinking the industry back could improve the supply of materials and equipment to the remaining shipyards, and in the Tri-city [Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot] also solve the problem of the shortage of skilled labor. It might turn out that both the production and export revenues would return to the current level relatively fast. However, they would be achieved at a considerably lower outlay.

Over the last several years, the situation has been similar, but at the time no representative of the center publicly called into question the financial performance of the largest shipyards in the Tri-city. Quite the opposite, subsidies were furnished pursuant to special government resolutions of 1984. Only recently did Minister [of Industry] Bilip announce that reconsidering the rules of the economic game was possible. However, this happened on the fourth day of the strike in the Lenin shipyard, and it is sort of paradoxical that a diligent look at the economic condition is taken right now, the situation being as it is. If this reconsideration were to be made solely by economic criteria, then most likely the two

largest shipyards of the Tri-city should go under. However, such a turn of events will not serve to promote the reform idea and structural changes in industry.

The Lenin and Stalowa Wola steel mills rank 4th and 14th on the list. The first is a primary cycle mill, whereas the other includes an enormous machine-building enterprise. Yet, the financial performance of both is not particularly encouraging. To be sure, support was not needed at Nowa Huta (10 percent profit margin), but relief was necessary (4.5 billion zlotys), mainly for the income tax. It was entailed by retooling investment projects, which the combine would not be able to afford otherwise. Stalowa Wola received support in the amount of 7 billion and tax relief of around 12 billion. This may be the reason why it achieved a 23-percent profit margin, that is, above the average. Probably, both these sums in the case of Stalowa Wola have to do with exports, which would call for a more precise study of their efficiency. Wages in Stalowa Wola last year were 6,000 zlotys less in the Lenin Steel Mill and amounted to 34,000 zlotys.

However, the Krakow combine should be compared primarily with another primary-cycle mill, Katowice. Analysis of the available data indicates better management in the Lenin Steel Mill. After all, the Katowice Steel Mill receives much higher support (over 17 billion zlotys last year), however, the profit it generated was lower than in Nowa Huta. Simplifying it somewhat, we may say that the profit is derived entirely from subsidies, because they also amounted to 17 billion zlotys (in Nowa Huta—22 billion).

The names of two Wroclaw machinebuilding enterprises, the "Dolmel" and the "Pafawag", have surfaced in the press in recent days. The "Dolmel" joined the "Megat" conglomerate several years ago, and at present nothing can be said about it on the basis of "the 500 list". In its turn, the "Pafawag", once a darling of the TV news, did not distinguish itself in any way, with the possible exception of almost total lack of exports. The profit margin of the enterprise is average; it does not deserve systemic preferences and receives no non-systemic support from the association. Wages are at a level of the national average. As it were, the situation has been like that for years. Recently, the profit margin of the "Pafawag" increased somewhat, and one gets the impression that some adjustment actions at the Wroclaw enterprise have been undertaken. The nearby railway car factory in Swidnica showed somewhat worse performance, despite being a major exporter. So, it is hard to say what is better—to export or not to export.

To finish up, here are several other suggestions based on "the list," since, as I understand, the Ministry of Industry is to take a serious crack at making the enterprises healthier. Fertilizer industry enterprises have traditionally been among subsidy guzzlers, among others, Police—30 billion zlotys in subsidies, the absolute record, and Wloclawek, the only enterprise operating in the red even taking subsidies into account. Enterprises of

the meat packing, grain processing and fodder industries are the same way. Among highly subsidized enterprises, we may also find the Coking Combine in Zabrze (over 11 billion zlotys in support), the "Siarkopol" in Tarnobrzeg (13 billion in subsidies) and the "Organika" enterprise in Nowa Sarzyna. We won't find, however, two cement mills which have fallen on exceptionally hard times in recent years. They were taken over by a wholesaler of the cement trade, the "Polcement" from Sosnowiec and are now kept alive by it on subsidies from its own funds, accumulated due to using high margins in cement sales. Here is a simple knack for you to put one over on those who would like to carry on with structural changes.

9761

Economic, Social Realities Viewed as Cause for Popular Discontent

26000295a Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 17, 17 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by Ernest Skalski: "We Still Do Not Understand Each Other"]

[Text] "The press of those Western countries in which secondary and higher education is so expensive that it is unobtainable for the poor or even for the middle-class is lamenting the hopelessness of the lives of young Poles. Poland knows nothing of these problems...."

If we compare this statement by the government spokesman with the table prepared using data from the ROCZNIK STATYSTYCZNY published by the government's Central Office of Statistics, it is hard to reach the conclusion that "Poland knows nothing of these problems."

The table is only to serve as a general guide, but since the question is disputed, it needs more thorough explanation. The data for Poland are for 1984 and 1985, while that for other countries is for 1984, although in some cases for a year or two earlier. The two numbers of students given for Poland result from the fact that for international comparisons the Central Office of Statistics adds to the number of students the number of pupils in post-secondary schools, which produces the better result. The comparability of this category is further limited by the fact that the Western countries do not count students in correspondence courses and evening studies.

Substantively, we have a decisive superiority only over Nigeria and then only as regards students. But since in 1970 there were only 3.9 students (to be sure excluding technical universities) per 10,000 populations in Nigeria, our superiority probably will not last. In all of the countries other than Poland listed in the table, the number of students and, in nearly all of them, of secondary pupils has risen, in some cases significantly since 1970. In Poland in 1970, there were 16.5 pupils per 1,000 populations; thus the number has fallen since that

time by 39 percent. In comparison with 1974, the best year, it has fallen by 47 percent. As regards the number of students per 10,000 populations the figure has fallen by 36 percent, but the best year was 1977. In both cases in recent years the figure has fallen by 4 percent annually.

This article is not about the state of education in the People's Republic of Poland. In any case, the above data are completely sufficient for this article. Since the statement quoted at the beginning was made at an official press conference, one can think that either the government's policy in this crucial area is based on a mistaken view of reality or only its spokesman is mistaken, repeating propaganda statements from a few decades ago.

The article, however, is about an understanding promoted for many years as a pillar of the authorities' policy; it is about an understanding or the lack of an understanding, in this case, between the authorities and society which could have an interest in whether its view of reality is shared by the government because determining this would permit society to determine how the government will handle society's interests. In this case, we see a serious misalignment of the actual situation and society's interests with the official position.

What Pains Whom

"The Western press amazes its readers with statements that in Poland one waits for an apartment as much as 20 years. Having Western relations in mind, where one does not receive an assignment by distribution, the Western reader frequently thinks that a Pole who has a sum of money equal to the cost of an apartment cannot buy one. No one explains that the waiting applies only to apartments for which one pays only 10 or 20 percent of the value out of one's own pocket. The remainder comes from subventions and credits on very easy terms that are heavily amortized."

It looks as if the spokesman is again saying what he knows, when he does not know how things really are. For, Western relations also do not foresee that one has a sum of money equal to the cost of an apartment or home. Either one rents one or one buys one on credit, usually on very easy terms. The difference in comparison with the People's Republic of Poland lies in the fact that there one arranges things at once! In Poland, however, one does not wait "as much as 20 years," but since housing cooperatives finally began accepting candidates, much longer. In Warsaw, for example, 56 years. (To be precise, one must remember that in the West there are also assignments of apartments but only for a small group of the "socially weak" and one must wait for them sometimes, although in comparison with our conditions an unusually short-time.)

This decades-long line is practically the only, or rather impractically the only, way for the majority of people in Poland to obtain an apartment. The government should

know that due to the quantity of appropriate lands and the amount of construction materials, only a minority has any chance to build a home themselves. This minority will be much richer than the national average and with the appropriate contacts; in other words, there will be few young people in this group. Further, such building entails many years of hard labor by the individual and his family, which can only be undertaken at the cost of his basic professional activities. Producing losses for both those concerned and for society which does not train a biochemist for him to substitute for a mason.

As regards having a sum of money equal to the cost of an apartment, it is precisely in Poland that one must have it if one wants to move in at once—in the West credit suffices. In Warsaw now, this sum of money averages around 300,000 zloty per m². The average apartment now has 70 m² of floor space so it costs in the neighborhood of 21 million zloty, the equivalent of 48 years of average wages in the socialized sector of the economy, which about 60 percent of the employees never achieves. This sum is much higher than the vast majority of workers receives for their work through the course of their entire lives, which testifies not only to the inflation in housing costs caused by the fact that too little housing is being built but also to how poorly paid workers are.

The experience and feeling of the government spokesman misses the mark regardless of how it is phrased. Surely, he is right when he says "the apartments being built are much larger and more comfortable than those of a few years ago," but they are and will remain substandard ghettos of blocks, already slums when designed, that become ramshackles after a few years of use. In any case, the families that receive them have waited for many years; thus, of necessity, they are not young. Against this background, the statement that "The housing resources are more equitably distributed than in the West" can only be understood to mean that an apartment in concrete is the only opportunity for the majority, regardless of their achievements in their work, their social position, their needs, or their tastes. There is no equality as concerns the opportunity to get an apartment; it declines systematically as one is born later along the path towards the supposed radiant future.

If the generation being born cannot meet its basic necessities for life, which an apartment is, then Poland is a country with a national housing catastrophe, although the spokesman says precisely the opposite. And saying "I do not deny that things are bad" can hardly be understood except as an irritating euphemism and as an escape route for the speaker, which can prove itself as part of so-called procedural caution, but cannot succeed in politics.

Similarly, the otherwise true statement that "Wages in the rich countries of the West are much higher than in Poland" does not reflect reality. The essential difference, known to all probably and surely to anyone contemplating emigration, lies in the fact that there a person

working fulltime can usually support himself and his family at a level judged acceptable, thus including an appropriate apartment, usually from the beginning, and he has an opportunity to educate his children who later are not treated as debtors to the state. And this also applies to such a "rich country of the West" as Spain, whose economic level was lower than Poland's 30 years ago.

The spokesman again avoids the most important element in this issue which the government cannot handle: the average wage, which, remember, 60 percent of the workers do not earn and which is far above the basic wage, barely equals the social minimum for two persons, calculated in an unusually humble way by the OPZZ, not including the actual costs for setting up housekeeping, or the most important thing for young people. Instead of this we hear the surprising statement that "Not all young people's wages are low. Many miners, modern farmers, workers in brigade systems, sailors, fisherman, inventors, etc., are experiencing no shortages."

Which means for all young people that a small number of select professions and social groups sometimes "are experiencing no shortages." A modern farmer must have a farm; fisherman (old and young) amount to 17,000 people; the whole of maritime shipping adds up to 19,000, of which only a part consists of sailors (both groups are very elite), an inventor is a gift of God and many of them are suffering from shortages. That leaves miners; also a rather small group. All of this bears so little relation to the actual situation of millions of people that it gives the impression of talking just to be talking which prohibits any effort at understanding, which is possible only if we see more or less the same issues and reality.

The prospects for a career, for the young, in light of the law making it possible to place institutions employing 50 or fewer people under an agent, are particularly irritating. This resembles the comment that the people who have no bread should eat cake.

Washing Hands

Mentioning all these points of view and saying that this is still not everything which the reform will bring allows the government spokesman to condemn the "young for poor mouthing and having the attitude of a lazy idiot." In this manner, which depends on drawing logical conclusions from absurd premises, anyone who does not agree with these points of view is characterized negatively and becomes guilty of his own poverty. It makes one wonder whether this kind of simultaneous ignorance and arrogance results from the invention of the speaker. In this light, the formulations of the newest version of the "Program for the Implementation of the Second Stage of the Economic Reform" prepared not long ago are cause for concern: "For a portion of society there may be a certain worsening deriving from the elimination of easy wages without productive work.... But for all

those actively working, demonstrating initiative and entrepreneurship, not fearing creative effort, there will be immediate opportunities for clear increases in income. Such a differential in the opportunity to earn is justified." This is the same logic as that in the statement by the spokesman, and it suggests in the same way that if someone's earnings do not rise immediately then it is because he lacks all of these positive characteristics. He is a lazy idiot, or he is losing his easy wages without productive work, as he rightly should. The authorities are behaving as if they have already created the conditions so that work with all the positive adjectives will pay, and thus they feel relieved of any responsibility for individuals' success in life.

One gets the undeniable impression that these formulations already move only in the self-decreed, simple reality of the person making these statements *ex cathedra*, in which the rules are unambiguous and just, although the spokesman in the very same appearance reminded us that the premier has admitted in the Sejm that "declarations and discussion still predominate over accomplishments."

On the other hand, the consumers of these declarations—if they consume them—live in a completely different reality and perceive no changes other than in prices. In this reality, the director or president has very little influence on an economic unit's performance, and even given full implementation of the program of the second stage, he can only be a more or less effective, or better or worse, stimulated executor of the economic policy of the central authorities but not a entrepreneur capable of answering with his capital for his economic performance. Even a worker in the most free-market, liberalized economy knows that in principle he should receive as much as his work is worth regardless of how the entrepreneur makes use of it.

In the real, though complicated world, people strive to hang onto certain lasting principles of logic and justice. But in the artificial world of reform utopia one can create fairly arbitrary constructions like the one in the program: "wages will be more closely tied to work performance in order to make them (wages, performance?) a result of enterprise performance," in other words to burden workers with responsibility for something in which they have no voice.

This imprecise juggling of words in a document supposedly establishing a new model for the economy affects the fundamental conditions of existence for society which is required to trust and support, contrary to its experience, interests, or sense of justice. Furthermore, it does so without concern for, at the very least, a logical justification for these requirements and the truthfulness of those announcing the program. And add to this what the authorities themselves have said about the arrogance of authorities!

Optimism—Pessimism

The misunderstanding between the parties includes not only a broadly conceived issue of material well-being but also, or rather primarily, a fundamental judgment of the state of the economy and its prospects.

The government is fighting a catastrophic vision of the economy. On this issue, not only the spokesman has spoken out, but Premier Messner has, too. The official version is presented as follows: the situation is obviously difficult; there are many shortages, but in general, it has improved over the course of the last few years, although without a doubt too slowly. The problem is to accelerate this process, which is what the efforts of the second stage are to do. Their implementation requires a certain dose of optimism, faith in one's own strength, but the catastrophic approach, which has no basis in fact, acts to paralyze, thus it is promoted to damage the reform.

This catastrophic approach is, however, widespread. According to data from the Public Opinion Research Center published in *POLITYKA*, 70 percent of all Poles thinks the economic situation is bad or very bad (December 1984, 40 percent); nearly half thinks that this year will be worse than last (a year earlier 17 percent had a similar opinion); and 80 percent sees the danger of serious conflicts. Thus, the judgments of a majority of society and of the government are diametrically opposed. It is hard to assume, however, that such a universal view can result from promotion of it by "certain centers," especially if one is a supporter of the theory that life determines consciousness.

Obviously an overwhelming arithmetical majority of support for a particular view does not presuppose that the view is automatically correct, inasmuch as there was a moment when only one person thought that the earth moves around the sun. In this case, however, the division is not between a handful of specialists and a mob of ignorant people. There are specialists among the supporters of catastrophe, too.

But this article, just as it is not about state of education is also not about the state of the economy. It is about the chances for understanding between top and bottom, which seems minimal also due to the large, principled differences in opinion.

Areas of Silence

Not only does what one says and how one says it influence the impossibility of understanding, but also what one does not say, which is essential to all. Now, the present system, which has long been officially admitted, was introduced more than 40 years ago by a few communists as a result of the war. One of the main justifications was that it is more economically efficient in comparison with the capitalist system, which was backward, condemned to extinction. This statement was said out loud and explicitly, and contradicting it cost a great deal. (It

suffices to imagine what would have happened to someone in 1953 if he had said that in 30 years what exists in 1988 was going to be.) That other people said what was said at that time results from the natural passage of time. But neither the political leadership nor the official ideology has changed. There have been changes, but made half-heartedly, more you know, you understand, without an open accounting for everything. Speaking of the guilt of "Gierek's voluntarism and the anarchy of Solidarity" does not satisfy society's need in this area, especially since other socialist countries have found there are similar fears. And society is very sensitive as regards its dignity, not to mention the fact that it would like to have some more certain guarantees. For in the name of this radiant future, which has turned out to be today's crisis, whole social classes were liquidated, millions of people had their property taken away, usually meager, which was the basis of their existence. Nearly two generations worked hard, forced to give things up, for which the majority of those living in the People's Republic of Poland have not received and will not receive recompensation. During this period, our natural resources have been largely used up and the environment ruined; the historical infrastructure has been seriously destroyed. Surely, they deserve a few words of explanation.

And this applies not just to the past decades but to the current one as well. When the economic reform was introduced in January 1982, no one said that its first six years would only be the first stage, that it is essential to introduce a second stage, which will produce truly tangible results. It would be proper to say a little more about how such changes can occur if the essence of the system is supposed to be the same as it was over the last four decades.

Futhermore, the second stage has as yet not made itself felt over the few months of its existence except for price increases. Prosperity and abundance can be a question of some time, but if the economy had truly begun to work on qualitatively different principles, it would be noticeable. And it is not. Even the premier in the Sejm, which we recall once again citing the spokesman, has expressed concern that "declarations and discussion still predominate over accomplishments and at times they contradict practice."

But matters have gone so far that even frank admission would not facilitate understanding. Society does not expect that the government will criticize the slow tempo of what it itself should do at the appropriate time.

13021

Percentage Breakdowns of Class, Worker Structure; Prognosis Noted
26000344 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28 Apr 88 p 4

[Article by Stanislaw Wlodziarczyk: "What Separates and What Unites Us"]

[Text] We say that our society is differentiated. What is the basis for this division, differences in one's situation

and contradictory interests? Who dominates, which groups are the most numerous, what changes in the social structure? In-depth knowledge of this is a prerequisite for making many political and economic decisions correctly.

Describing it in terms of a model, we may distinguish 5 basic groups in our society:

—A class of immediate producers—employees of the socialized sector and other hired labor in production, or the working class. In a broader sense, we should also include here executory employees of the sphere of exchange and services employed in the socialized and non-socialized sectors. The accepted marxist criteria for distinguishing this class are: 1) hired labor (employment on the basis of the "employment relationship"); 2) executory work in the field of broadly defined material production; 3) remuneration for labor as the main source of income.

—A class of immediate producers—petty owners of land and other means of production operating independent (family) farms, supporting their families mainly by working on the farm (which does not rule out additional earnings), or the class of individual peasantry. The criteria for distinguishing this class are: 1) small, private (individual) ownership of land and other means of agricultural production; 2) labor by self and members of one's family; 3) the family farm as the main source of income.

Members of agricultural producer cooperatives, who are relatively few (163,000 in 1986), should also be included in the peasant class. They constitute a class group of cooperative peasantry.

—A class group of petty owners of the means of production, exchange and rendering commercial services outside of agriculture, or lower middle class (in the socioeconomic sense). Private craftsmen are the largest community in this group. The criteria for distinguishing this group are: 1) private (individual) ownership of the means of production (exchange and services); 2) labor by self and family members (excludes large-scale use of hired labor); 3) income from work in one's own enterprise (rather than from any form of exploitation).

—Petty capitalists in urban and rural areas, including representatives of "speculative capital." This group is very differentiated and heterogeneous. It consists of private owners using hired labor on a greater scale (allowed by law), legally carrying out socially useful economic operations. It also includes groups using various forms of exploitation by, among other things, speculation, groups involved in illegal or semi-legal activities, drawing income not justified by the labor invested and parasitic groups. There are no official data on the numbers in the groups of "the second and the third" economy.

—A differentiated layer of intelligentsia embracing employees and representatives of the so-called free professions (working independently; their socioeconomic situation is similar to that of the lower middle class) who discharge various professional responsibilities in the sphere of the political, ideological and cultural superstructure and in the sphere of organizing work and collective life—responsibilities calling for corresponding education and requisite skills.

Changes and Their Prerequisites

Every large group mentioned above is internally differentiated. There is an array of transitional, borderline groups between them. They exist between the working class and peasantry (the so-called peasant-workers), between the working class and lower middle class (e.g. persons doing take-home work, members of labor cooperatives), between the working class and intelligentsia, e.g. executory and auxiliary administrative, clerical and commercial employees, foremen, operators of automated equipment, employees discharging special functions in electronic data processing, and so on.

In the initial post-war period, revolutionary acts of the new authorities were of decisive significance in changing the social structure (the land reform and nationalization of the key economic sectors, especially large-scale and medium-scale industry). Since the late 1940s, industrialization has become the most important factor in changing the social structure.

The process of urbanization proceeded as a result of a large migration of the populace from rural areas to cities and transfers from work in agriculture to industry and other economic sectors. The share of the urban population in the country's total is the elementary indicator of urbanization. In 1937, 27.2 percent of the population of Poland lived in cities, whereas as early as 1946 the share was 32.8 percent and in 1986—60.4 percent.

Data of the 1931 census of the population show that before World War II somewhat over 60 percent of the population drew their income from agriculture. In 1950, this statistic fell to 47.1 percent, whereas in 1984 it amounted to 19.3 percent, i.e. was at a level similar to the one registered before the war in the most developed countries of Europe. An analysis of employment structure shows that the share of people employed in industry increased from 17.7 percent in 1950 to 28.5 percent in 1986. At present, it does not deviate significantly from statistics for the countries at a medium level of industrial development.

It should be stressed that the process of industrializing the country developed in Poland at the same time the population was growing incredibly fast. Between 1946 and 1981, the population of Poland increased by 14

million, or 59.3 percent. This is a phenomenon unparalleled in other European countries, and it should be taken into account when socioeconomic changes in Poland are evaluated.

The promotion of culture and the tremendous growth of the educational level of the populace are the next great processes which influenced the transformation of the social structure and opportunities for developing the economy and culture. If we compare the educational structure of the populace above 15 years of age in 1983 with the one we had as recently as 1960, it turns out that the share of people with college degrees increased from 2.1 to 5.5 percent, with high school and incomplete college education—from 10.3 to 22.6 percent, with basic vocational—from 3.1 to 19.5 percent, with elementary and incomplete high school—from 39.3 to 43.9 percent, whereas the share of people with incomplete elementary education or none at all declined from 45.2 to 8.5 percent.

These briefly reviewed processes transformed the economic and social structure of Poland. They facilitated to a large degree the elimination of the traditional overpopulation in rural areas and unemployment in the cities, the civilizational and cultural advancement of the previously disenfranchised classes and groups, a considerable reduction in the numbers of the peasantry in favor of the working class and various groups of the intelligentsia, and the emergence of borderline groups between individual classes and social strata.

Global changes in the proportions of the outlined socioeconomic groups (classes and social strata) are as follows.

The share of workers in the total labor force increased from about 30 percent in 1950 to 41.2 percent in 1970 and 44.0 percent in 1986. In 1980, there were about 8 million workers, of which about 3.8 million were employed in the socialized industry. In 1986, the number of employees in workers' jobs declined to about 7.5 million, of which in industry to about 3.4 million. This decline in several recent years was not the result of scientific progress and increasing social productivity of labor, but rather the outcome of crisis phenomena and their ramifications (transfers to the non-socialized sector, money-making work abroad, early retirement, and so on).

It should be noted that the employment structure of workers, with regard to the degree of mechanization and automation of labor, still lags behind.

According to the estimates by experts on this issue, A. Karpinski and St. Paradysz, the value of production by modern industries (electronic, petrochemical, automobile and plastics) accounted in 1983 for about 9 percent of all industrial production (including information services), and the share of those employed in this sectors amounted to about 12 percent (about 590,000 persons).

A More Precise Picture

In turn, the share of "high-technology" branches in overall industrial production amounted in 1983 to barely about 2.4 percent, and the share of those employed in producing high-tech goods is estimated to be 1.5 percent of total employment in industry and about 0.6 percent of total non-agricultural employment. The number of such employees may be estimated to be about 75,000 to 80,000, excluding employees of computer data processing centers.

As far as the share of the most difficult work, manual and non-mechanized, done by workers immediately involved in production is concerned, it amounted to about 43 percent in 1965. By 1983, it declined of mechanized work increased from 54 percent in 1965 to about 60 percent in 1983. At the same time, the share of work partially or entirely automated increased from about 3 percent in 1965 to about 9 percent in 1983, especially in the machinebuilding and light industries.

A. Karpinski and S. Paradysz estimate that in 1983 1.5 million persons, of which about 1 million were in industry, i.e. about 37 percent of all workers, were employed in completely non-mechanized jobs in the socialized economy (taking into account those employed in auxiliary positions, in-plant transportation and loading/unloading, along with workers immediately involved in production), whereas in countries of Western Europe this share does not exceed 10 to 15 percent.

These data suggest that the numerically prevailing backbone of industrial workers consists of workers doing mechanized work (primarily assembly line), the type characteristic of basic, extensive industrialization. This model of industrialization and type of production are marked by an autocratic, taylorian system of labor organization, in which a worker is treated as "an appendage to the machine".

The share of individual peasants in the total labor force has been declining consistently. In 1950, it stood at 52.5 percent, in 1960—33.7 percent, in 1980—23.1 percent and in 1986—22.5 percent. The absolute number of working individual farmers dropped from about 6 million persons in 1950 to about 4 million in 1986. In 1984, the number of individual farms stood at about 2.8 million, of which those with an area under 2 hectares—30.1 percent and with over 10 hectares—16.3 percent (over 15 hectares—about 6 percent). The average individual farm had 5.6 hectares of agricultural land. Over the last dozen years, growth in the share of the largest farms (15 hectares and over) has been registered.

From among individual farms, specialized farms and those larger than 15 hectares are considered to be relatively modern. The ratio of technical assets per hectare or per person employed, or an indicator of consumption of industrial means of production per hectare, would be a more instructive statistic.

As a share of the total labor force, the number of lower middle class, more precisely, owners and co-owners (and helping family members) in the non-socialized sector outside of agriculture remained at more or less the same level between the 1950s and the 1970s. Their strength never exceeded 2 percent during these years, and a downward trend existed. In the 1980s, absolute and relative growth began. According to GUS data, in 1980 there were 373,400 owners in the non-socialized sector, in 1985—565,100 and in 1986—587,600. The absolute growth between 1980 and 1986 was 214,200, or 57.4 percent. This group, as a share of total labor force, grew from 2.1 percent in 1980 to 3.3 percent in 1985 and 3.4 percent in 1986.

The number of hired employees in the non-socialized sector (employed by owners on the basis of a labor contract) also grew from 207,100 in 1980 to 383,700 in 1986. Thus, the number of persons employed in this sector (excluding so-called agents) increased from 602,700 persons (3.5 percent of total labor force) in 1980 to 995,600 persons (5.3 percent) in 1986. Private craftsmen are the dominant group among owners in the non-socialized factor.

The years 1981 through 1985 were the time of relatively rapid growth of private crafts. The development of foreign enterprises (so-called Polonia companies) should also be noted: 1981—117, 1986—670. The number of employees in these enterprises increased from 3,500 in 1981 to 54,200 in 1985 and 61,600 in 1986. The main sources for the recruitment of employees to the non-socialized sector, including Polonia companies, are: influx of employees from the socialized sector outside agriculture, influx of population from individual farms, professional activation of rural residents finding employment mainly in construction or garment companies or those serving agriculture; activation of persons who took early retirement or annuity and activation of the handicapped and persons not previously employed elsewhere. The sources differ somewhat for crafts and for Polonia companies.

This development was the result of growing demand for goods and services which the state sector does not furnish, on the one hand, and of the economic policy by the authorities associated with the economic reform, on the other.

Socio-professional groups attributed to the intelligentsia and termed in statistics "white-collar employees," or lately "employees in non-worker jobs," are an important element of the class and strata structure. The share of these groups in the total labor force increased from about 12 percent in 1950 to 22-23 percent in the 1970s and 23 percent in 1980. In 1986, it came up to almost one-quarter of all employees (24.3 percent) and over one-third (35.5 percent) of those employed on the basis of a "relationship of labor" in the socialized sector. From among 3.9 million employees in non-worker jobs in 1983, managers (of enterprises, institutions and various

internal organizational divisions) accounted for over one-quarter (25.5 percent), specialists—for over one-half (50.8 percent), whereas executive employees (administrative, economic and clerical)—for less than one-quarter (23.7 percent). Employees in management positions accounted in 1983 for almost 9 percent of the total labor force in the socialized economy.

Further Changes

It may be expected that in the course of scientific-technical and organizational progress and a reduction in the administrative methods of management, the number of administrative and economic employees and managers in the material production sector and the remaining spheres of the economy will decline. At the same time, the number and role of scientific-technical specialists, specialists in designing and developing production, data processing and application of science in production will increase. The role of indirect production work will be enhanced.

The structure of employment of workers and the intelligentsia will change as a result of developments in micro-electronics, biotechnology and computerization. The borderline groups between workers and representatives of the scientific-technical intelligentsia characteristic of "the high technology" industry will increasingly account for a greater portion of the working class rather than industrial workers doing mechanized work.

A new level of development of productive forces and different forms of organizing relations in production will bring about the working class, especially the most skilled workers, drawing closer to other social groups, in particular the scientific-technical intelligentsia. At the same time, this will reinforce differentiation inside the working class and the intelligentsia.

The new economic mechanism should be expected to gradually intensify the processes of the concentration of production within the individual farming and influence the changes of social structure in rural areas, and the growth in the number of non-agricultural population employed in trade, services and agricultural services. This should be a favorable influence on the development of the economic and cultural infrastructure in rural areas.

The number and economic weight of the group of private owners should be expected to grow under the economic reform in the non-socialized sector, especially in crafts, services, trade and food service, passenger and cargo transportation, as well as the share of hired employees working in this sector. Also, the processes of leaving the socialized sector for the non-socialized will pick up. This will be a challenge for the socialized sector, which must increase its efficiency and on this basis improve the conditions of work and wages of employees. The development of the private sector in cities and in rural areas, the setting up of mixed enterprises with the participation

of private capital, foreign and domestic, will cause class divisions, relations and contradictions to remain an important aspect of the social structure. The class and stratum structure will become more complex. The share of groups with intermediate, contradictory class identification will increase.

At the same time, the significance of other, especially professional, aspects of the social structure and various non-class and inter-class forms of differentiation and social inequality will increase, which needs to be taken into account in political practice.

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Wage-Scale Vagaries: Sacrificing the Intelligentsia

26000342 Warsaw *PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY* in
Polish No 17, 24 Apr 88 pp 1, 4

[Article by Henryk Jablonowski: "Intelligentsia Outcasts"]

[Text] First, let us recall several facts mentioned in the discussion on the role and situation of the intelligentsia in Poland, under way now for several weeks. In *PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY* dated 21 February, in the article "The Mirror of Statistics," we quoted statistics on the decline in the number of students. In the years 1975 through 1983, the ranking of Poland among 137 countries of the world for the number of students per 100,000 population slipped from 21 to 48. Between 1980 and 1987, the absolute number of students declined by about 25 percent. We also noted that in the years 1970 through 1986 Poland slid from the 4th to the 13th position on a list of 40 countries with regard to the percentage of people with college education in the entire population.

On 23 February, Minister [Government Press Spokesman] Jerzy Urban informed journalists at a press conference that in the years 1983 through 1987 177,500 persons from Poland emigrated or left and remained abroad permanently, of which 21,500 were persons with college education. Besides, tens of thousands college graduates extended their stays abroad, and it is not known whether or when they will return. For comparison—these are not the data from the press conference—in previous 5-year, and therefore comparable, periods, the following number of persons emigrated: in 1971-1975—83,700; in 1976-1980—142,000; in 1981-1985—120,000 (according to the GUS [Main Office of Statistics]). A definite growth trend is evident, but this is a different topic.

The 21,500 college graduates account for about 12 percent of all emigrants. The share of college graduates in the entire population of our country is not that high. In 1986, they accounted for barely 5 percent of all citizens (37.45 million). It clearly follows from this comparison that college graduates decide to leave for good at least twice as often as others. Are they doing

particularly badly in our country compared to other professional groups, or is "the faint-hearted stance of turning their backs on the motherland and fellow countrymen instead of working to improve the living conditions in their own country," as minister Urban said at the aforementioned conference, more characteristic of them than of others? What are the reasons for this particular flight of young intellectuals from our country?

At first, let us review briefly modern Polish history. Let us look at a comparison of the average wages of industry workers, administrative and clerical employees with college degrees, with the average wages in the national economy in the years 1964, 1968, 1980 and 1984. The data for 1964 and 1968 are from the GUS "Statistical Yearbook of Labor" for the years 1945 through 1969. The remuneration of college graduates reported in this publication does not include payments from funds for outside contractors; thus, actually it was higher. Likewise, the wages of administrative and clerical employees were higher, because those reported did not take into account the wages of association officials. The data for 1980 and 1984 are from "Statistical Yearbook 1985". As they informed me at the GUS, the data on the average wages of college graduates were given there according to the PESEL [Comprehensive Electronic Register of Vital Statistics]. The GUS did not publish such data in the yearbooks for subsequent years, because it has reservations regarding the way they are calculated and their reliability, but does not calculate these statistics itself. Thus, we must use, out of necessity, the 3-year old data. However, no recent changes in wage policies have been large enough to render comparisons over a 20-year period impossible (the PESEL refused to supply the newest data pointing to an executive order by the chairman of the Council of Ministers to that effect).

The GUS believes that the average wage of employees with college education in 1985 (15,340 zlotys), reported in the yearbook mentioned, is too low compared to the average wage in the national economy at that time (19,256 zlotys), because it was calculated not for a period of one year, but on the basis of January statistics, and that it should rather be compared with the average wage in 1984 (16,838 zlotys) in order to reduce the error. This observation has been taken into account. If there is any error in this comparison, then it is in disfavor of the intelligentsia.

So much about the method; now, for the conclusions. As can be seen, the average wage of college graduates relative to the average wage in the socialized sector has declined over the years. In 1964, it amounted to about 3,200 zlotys and was 1.78 times higher than the average wage (1,815 zlotys). In 1968, this ratio was marginally lower and stood at 1.77 (respective average remunerations—3,700 and 2,108 zlotys). In the year 1980, the steam roller came around and started levelling—the remuneration of college graduates was only 1.11 times higher (6,454 and 5,789 zlotys). The beginning of the present decade undercut the intelligentsia financially

still further. The average wage fell below the national average, and the ratio was only 0.91. If we do not take into account the aforementioned correction by the GUS, it was lower yet—0.79. Either way, it was below unity, and that is important. The disjointed data for 1986 suggest that the ratio did not change.

In recent years, the intelligentsia has been making the least money of all professional groups in the socialized sector. Not only does it make less than workers, but also less than office employees (a segment of college graduates belong to this group).

Is this a proper state of affairs facilitating social order? Does it encourage young people to study? Does it provide an argument against people with college diplomas leaving Poland? So, the intelligentsia does not sulk, but it understands the realities quite well.

The comparison presented shows that low wages of college graduates are not a constant feature of the system, but a result of extemporaneous policy. In the 1960s, the intelligentsia was much better appreciated. What was the influence of this on the rate of economic growth? I believe it was considerable, though it is difficult to furnish quantifiable arguments in this matter. Looking around the world and comparing the wages of intelligentsia with those of other professional groups in countries which are having better luck with their economies and progress of civilization may provide the arguments.

The data presented below were found in statistical yearbooks of individual countries, and, in the case of the United States, also in the "Occupational Outlook Handbook" (the 1986 edition, based on the 1984 calculations). Drawing a chart for these countries in the same way as for Poland was not possible, due to differing methods of calculating and compiling the data. In many of these countries, the ratio between the average wage of college graduates and the national average is simply not calculated. Nonetheless, it was possible to compare wages in industrial professions. I ask the reader to disregard the absolute levels of wages presented below. This is not the point; it is the ratios that are important. Here is one more remark. The average wages mentioned are, of course, those of hired labor in the private or state sector without owners or shareholders of enterprises. In most cases, they are basic or contract wages without special bonuses or extra payments.

Now, for the first group, physicians. The data for France are lacking. In the United States and Japan, their earnings are more or less 3 to 4 times higher than the average wage of a worker. For Poland, the statistical yearbook does not furnish the average wage of physicians, but only that of dentists, which is several thousand zlotys lower than that of other medical specialties. One way or the other, this remuneration is lower than the average wage of a worker in industry, to say nothing of comparisons with the industrial aristocracy, miners or steel mill workers. At the same time, these ratios would be the

exact opposite in a majority of developed countries of the world (the proportions outlined are not only for the United States and Japan, but for most developed countries). The matter is clear and comment unnecessary.

The second group is managers. Due to the lack of statistics calculated by a single method, the comparison in this case was made for similar professional groups: France and Poland—the average for managers, Japan—the average for lower-level managers (departments, branch offices, enterprises, the United States—the average for economic directors of large enterprises (companies, conglomerates). Polish managers emerge from this comparison in relatively good shape, if we forget for a moment that forehead miners exist. To be sure, their salaries (1.7 wages of a worker in industry and 2 average wages for the nation) are relatively lower than in the countries used for comparison—respective ratios are 4 in France, 2 or 3 in the United States and Japan—but at least they are not lower than the national average.

The situation of college professors is similar. In their case, some approximations will also be necessary for comparison, because in the data at my disposal for the United States and Japan, they were counted separately, and for France, together with other employees in science and intellectuals. Probably in these countries as well the average would be higher if they were to be separated out from the group. So, a professor in Poland makes, on the average, 30 percent more than a bus driver, while in Japan and the United States, 3 to 4 times more.

In the case of engineers, the comparison must also use similar data: for France—the average for all engineers, for Japan—the average for mechanical engineers, for the United States—the average for all engineers in the private sector (remunerations in the state sector are lower and, therefore, the average for that country will be somewhat lower). In Poland, the GUS does not publish the average for engineers in its yearbook, but only that for designers. We may assume that engineers dominate in that group, though perhaps the average would be higher if we separated them out. Keeping these simplifications in mind, let us compare. Thus, in Poland the average for designers in 1986, 21,476 zlotys, was marginally higher than the wages of a dentist and lower than all workers wages, the national average being 24,600, the average for industrial workers—27,000, the average for bus drivers—28,700. And, of course, it was three times lower than the wage of a forehead miner. In the countries used for comparison, these ratios range between 1.5 and 2.5, but in the opposite direction, of course.

We should also mention teachers, another important social group. Unfortunately, I have managed to get detailed data on their earnings only for the United States. Thus, in 1984 their average annual salaries throughout the United States, depending on the level of the school (elementary, junior high, high) amounted to

\$23,900, \$24,200 and \$31,000 respectively. Their salaries ranged between the highest worker earnings (aviation mechanic, one of the more valuable trades, about \$25,000) and the lowest earnings for engineers.

In view of a well-known saying by one of the classical authors, it would be instructive to compare these wages with the remuneration for police officers. It happens to be inconvenient, in that in the US, their average is below that for teachers and amounts to \$20,500 and in the case of independent detectives, \$23,800.

For the curious, it is worthwhile to add how wages in the armed forces of that country stack up. The average for professional soldiers amounted to only \$18,000 a year, that is to say, at the level of workers' wages, and the average for superior officers above the rank of major, \$33,400, was on the same level as engineers employed in the state sector. Likewise, in France the wages of superior officers (excluding generals) were almost exactly the same as those for engineers.

In Poland, the teachers are a group particularly disliked by the originators of wage policy. Their average is even lower than that of engineers or physicians. In a chart for Poland, their column (only teachers with college degrees) would be absolutely the lowest, probably lower than the average for kitchen maids or janitors in the coal mining industry. I cannot provide a comparison with policemen and soldiers due to the lack of data.

Here is more interesting information. Pilots of civil airplanes are one of the groups with the highest earnings in the United States. The annual average wage in 1984 came to \$80,000 and was higher than the average for physicians. The spread of salaries is great. A beginning flight engineer makes \$16,000, whereas an experienced airplane captain as much as \$130,000. I write down these data with my hand trembling. It is bad enough that we do not have civil planes; what if the pilots begin to run away...

The average for journalists in that country is rather low and stands at a level of a decent worker's salary, whereas the spread depending on the professional position is very great, from \$13,000 to \$182,000 (1984). However, I have not been able to find salary privileges for miners similar to ours in any other country. In Italy, for example, miners earn less than skilled workers. Since I could not find any rational justification, social or economic, for the remuneration of miners as high as it is in Poland, I asked a specialist I know about it. He retorted: "Tell me in which of these countries a miner has been head of state?"

Reviewing selected professions does not yet testify to the situation of the entire intelligentsia. Now is the time for more synthetic indicators. Also, let us increase the scope of comparisons by adding the Soviet Union, Italy and Switzerland.

The USSR statistical yearbook does not classify employees by education. It publishes average salaries of engineers and technicians, and workers. We must assume that employees with college education, primarily in technical professions, are found in the second group. In 1985, the average salary in these groups amounted, respectively, in industry to 233 and 210 rubles, in agriculture to 243 and 179 rubles, and their ratios amounted to 1.1 in industry and 1.35 in agriculture. Therefore, college graduates in technical professions earned at least 1.1 times more than workers. As late as 1940, this ratio was almost 2 to 1 and then gradually dropped (in 1970—1.35 and 1.66). These are not precise indicators, because they do not include all college graduates. It may be that the situation there, with regard to the entire intelligentsia, is similar to that in Poland.

The Swiss yearbooks classify employees in yet another way. They refer to "independent skilled employees who have completed a course of study or training in a profession," that is, a group of which college graduates are but a part. In 1980, the average earnings in this group were 4,291 francs, or 1.4 times higher than the wages of workers (about 3,000 francs). This ratio must have been higher for people with college degrees.

The Italian yearbook "Statistiche del lavoro" for 1986 reports that wages of directors started at 2.3 million lire monthly, while the starting wages of officials, the last in the category of non-worker occupations, fluctuated around 1 million lire. The wages of workers ranged between 800,000 and 1 million lire. Once again, it follows from an approximate calculation that wages of college graduates must have been at least 1.5 to 1.8 times higher than those of workers.

The French statistical yearbook (1985) classifies employees in yet again a different manner: higher cadres—217,000 francs a year; managers and foremen—102,000; skilled workers—71,000; workers—61,000; operators of equipment and drivers—53,000. Thus, if we assume that people with college degrees are found in the three top groups, the average of their earnings compared to the average of the three bottom groups is more or less 2 times higher.

I have already cited examples from the United States. It follows from approximate calculations that wages of college graduates are on the average at least 1.5 times higher.

The Japanese are the most precise on this issue. In Japan, wages in comparable positions are accordingly higher for persons with greater seniority and a college degree. Thus, in 1984 a 25-year-old with a college degree received remuneration 1.1 times greater than his counterpart without a diploma, a 40-year-old—1.5 times greater, and a 55-year-old—1.7 times greater. In 1984,

the average starting monthly salary in industry for persons who started working without a college degree stood at 95,000 yen, whereas for those with degrees—129,000 yen. Thus, the salaries of college graduates were, on the average, 1.4 times greater.

What conclusions can we draw from this comparison? Nowhere in highly industrialized countries is there a situation in which people with college degrees make less than a national average, less than officials and less than workers. I have looked at other yearbooks and found no such country. In the Third World, such disproportions are frequently even higher.

It is debatable whether this ratio should be 1.5, or 2, or only 1.1 under the current economic situation in Poland and conditions of the [political] system. However, if this ratio plummets under 1, this is no longer a topic for discussion, but rather for a cabaret. After all, it means that in the hierarchy of values, shovelling outranks thinking, and that the road signs leading to the progress of civilization point in the exact opposite direction to that taken by the rest of the world. The intelligentsia is regarded as a troublesome appendix to our society and often feels unneeded. It should be assumed that the wage policy in Poland outlined above is not random, but rather a result of purposeful actions.

In order not to make things appear hopeless, we should end this reasoning on an optimistic note, that is, by a proposition on how to improve the situation. Who could we take away from in order to improve the life of intelligentsia? As it were, raising the wages of people with college degrees is not all that difficult, because they are not many. According to the 1986 data, out of the total of 11,210,000 employees in the socialized sector only 1,068,000, or less than 10 percent, had college degrees. If we were to assume that wages of the intelligentsia increase twofold at once (and I am not a proponent of administrative actions of this kind; these should be changes regulated by market mechanisms, but they can be managed), then the wages of other employees should be reduced by only 10 percent. This, of course, is theoretical reasoning; nobody is going to reduce anything. However, such a process can take place within the framework of wages growing. Given such growth, the ratio of remunerations of the intelligentsia to the average salary in the country would improve by a factor of 2, to 1.8, or would be on par with the ratio in the 1960s. Also, it would be comparable to such indicators worldwide. Then people with college diplomas would certainly not emigrate twice as often as those at a lower educational level, that is, if the objective really is to have their ideas implemented in our country.

9761

**New PRON Publication Editorial Statement
Notes Goals, Intentions**
26000280a Warsaw KONFRONTACJE in Polish
No 1, Jan 88 p 2

[Editorial statement by Marek Golszewski, Editor in Chief: "What For?"]

[Text] Exactly. What for? On the newsstands, an ocean of newspapers. The weekly, monthly, and quarterly publications crowd out one another. In the warehouses there is no paper. In the print shops the equipment is outdated. In the editorial offices, there are too many employees. And here is yet another title. Several more positions, additional money for salaries and for lineage, piece-work payments "by the word." So, what for? This is a question everyone must ask himself upon learning about a new publication. And does.

Now our newspaper is supposed to be a serious effort. Wide-ranging, complex. An attempt for journalists, for readers, for authorities, finally for those remaining in opposition. It is simply for all of us.

After so many failures does it make sense anymore to undertake any such effort?

Daily life provides us with the answer. It is right today that Poland's future is being determined and with it our own personal future, for the next few years and the entire epoch of history. Life calls for taking decisive steps forward in all areas. To this end there is need for a unification of the will of all Poles, that is, a new state of awareness on the part of the nation, one different from the old one. Today's is becoming too constricted for the reforms to progress. This is why we must make an Attempt. We are counting on the fact that the authorities want to cross the border of qualitative changes, take bolder steps on the road to democratization, but there are fears coming out of the experience of the past few years that more courageous decisions can be used against it. People of the opposition, also schooled by the past few years, are distrustful. And they are afraid that their openness may be wasted, and not just by the authorities. Those "silent ones," on the other hand, are wavering. Nonetheless, time marches on. It is necessary to try to go beyond the borders of each and in each direction. On the part of the authorities, this must be an act of decided openness towards society and on behalf of it. On the part of those in opposition, there must be commitment that is profoundly social. On the part of society as a whole, there must be acceptance of drastic measures, especially in the economic sphere, and there must be more productive work.

A part of this Attempt we are talking about is also the word, its scope and depth. KONFRONTACJE is to be an attempt at a deeper word, which is desired so much today, about what pains us and what engages us. And at the same time the sign of the authorities' political intentions and a reflection of their real desire to allow today's opponents to have a share in participation. An attempt at maturity for journalists and readers.

What is this attempt? Let us begin with the editorial staff. It is made up of representatives of various groups: Marxists and Catholics, those with a tie to the leadership and those with ties to the former Solidarity, people who are members of the party and people who are not, those

writing for "primary" circulation and those up until now writing only "underground." They have found a plane for cooperation which has turned out to be not so much an editorial location as an understanding of the need for such an Attempt. The discussions are sharp, the views often contrary to one another. But it turns out that nobody is threatened. What is more, cementing and building are going on. Hence, we want to take our discussion "outside," to prove that openness to divergent even extreme attitudes can pay off. And this is the main aspect of our attempt.

We aim to make KONFRONTACJE—this is a condition to its success—an institution which makes a free exhaustive exchange of opinion possible, including opinions that are "off the wall," ones with which we do not always agree. And maybe mainly such views, coming from social groups which have gone underrepresented or have not been represented at all in the past authority structures and representative bodies. We want to provide the possibility for presenting various positions and material arguments for them, from the viewpoint of the authors. And also to put forth clearly the comments, suggestions, and proposals of those who "are unable to" to those who make the decisions and vice versa. And hence this is also an attempt to activate those "silent ones," whose potential is still not being released. This is of fundamental importance, during this decisive period in which the fate of the Reform is being determined. We want to inquire continually into the contemporary situation and future of the country through creative criticism, writing about its political, economic, and social situation and future, to take a look that is characterized by patriotism at the people who sometimes hold positions distant from one another. The cooperation of the editorial group is the seed for this.

In concrete terms it is our intention to do the following:

To direct to the various ministers and delegates even the most sensitive questions we face in the community of the young intelligentsia (the "Questions" section);

To publish the results of public opinion polls;

To allow people with different world views to challenge one another's political and social views ("PRL" section);

To indulge in forecasting changes on the Polish political scene;

To hold interviews and discussions on vital matters and life issues with people "who are being talked about";

To consider the future of the Polish economy and challenge the views of economists ("Our Economy" section);

To point out the stupidity and sabotage of opponents of the reforms;

To fill in the "blank spots" particularly in the history of Polish-Soviet relations, Poland's most recent history (the period of Solidarity and martial law), and the history of underground literature ("History" and "Culture" sections);

To recount how Western correspondents, the world press (including in the original), and Polish emigres see Poland and Polish affairs;

To comment on changes in the USSR;

To promote individual ingenuity, and to give advice on creating new firms, companies, cooperatives, and associations and on how to get along in the jungle of regulations and ordinances;

To observe the "great people of this world" in their daily life;

To take up sports and publish the memoirs of champions;

To make direct contact with readers and try to help them with their daily problems.

These are the most important plans. But it might be asked: After all, there are already POLITYKA, TYGODNIK POWSZLCHNY, and so many other newspapers. Why KONFRONTACJE too?

Here we come to the main people to whom the publication is addressed, those whom we call "the future of Poland," the young intelligentsia in the institutions of higher education and on the job. First of all, that enormous share of it which with increasing nervousness is looking for new moral and political reference points and does not want to have all the reasons on just one side, in an overly simplified way, that of the party or the opposition. The young intelligentsia, which is politically developed, wants to be active publicly, but it is unable to find satisfactory arguments calling it to take that position, for example, in the press to which it has access.

But all these young people want to be assured that there is room to present the full range of views directly and legally. They want to have a political paper, one that is not weighed down with the past, one that treats them as mature political subjects with full rights and with an opinion that should be taken into account. This is their newspaper. They have not had one up until now. We want to make them a concrete offer. And this is the whole philosophy of KONFRONTACJE.

We have been fighting for this paper for 3 years. We have overcome tremendous obstacles. We believe that the future ones can be overcome, and there are sure to be some. There are still a lot of people who have an interest in thinking and acting in the old ways. We are counting on understanding and assistance from those for whom the word Poland really means Poland, for all Poles. This

sounds pompous, but only such an approach will insure that the association with "confrontations" will be our title KONFRONTACJE and not the next crisis.

10790

ROMANIA

Lenin's Opposition to 'Cliched' Applications of Marxism Noted

27000075 Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 22 Apr 88 p 6

[Article by Alex. Vasilescu: "The Revolutionary View and the Dialectics of History"]

[Text] In Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, in his theoretical work and his practical activity, dialectical and historical materialism and scientific socialism found an adherent who understood the revolutionary view in its spirit and who, in consequence, facilitated for it an evolution corresponding to his own inner dialectical determinations. Lenin, whose birthday was 118 years ago, sensed from the beginning, as an axiomatic truth, the fact that the valuable theoretical legacy of Marx and Engels, philosophical materialism blended organically with dialectics and applied both to nature and to the human and historical universe, the revolutionary view of the transformation of society, is identified, in what is essential and characteristic in it, with the infinite and natural capacity for continual renovation and enrichment. This basic truth was pointed out, as a matter of act, by the new world outlook's very founders, who stated openly that their theory and doctrine must not be taken and interpreted as dogma, as something given once and for all, as a prescription valid at any time and anywhere, but, as the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, pointed out, it is a guide to action, it being necessary "to independently process the theory, since it can give only guiding principles, which apply differently from country to country."

Essentially, it can be said, Lenin's special fundamental contribution of unalterable validity refers to the relationships between the general and the particular in the occurrence of the revolutionary process in all its aspects. This presupposes, of course, thorough knowledge of the general principles of the revolutionary view by the political arm of the working class and, at the same time, and no less thorough, knowledge of the concrete, specific conditions in which socialist revolution and construction are taking place. Consequently, the celebration of Lenin's birthday always constitutes an occasion for pointing out the attributes that make the revolutionary world view the stimulative theoretical and spiritual support for the vast and novel work of transforming society and man. Lenin grasped the always living spirit of this view and took it further. He was categorically opposed to any attempt—theoretical or practical—at a narrow, sketchy understanding, a hackneyed application of Marxism, stating that in this way "we turn it into

something dead, we steal its living soul, we undermine its fundamental theoretical bases—dialectics, the theory of multilateral and contradiction-filled historical development—we undermine its connection with the era's practical, concrete problem, which can change with each new turning point in history." The evolution of the revolutionary processes characteristic of our era has fully confirmed Lenin's principled thesis. The continual diversification of the social and economic, political, ideological, and cultural conditions characteristic of the contemporary era, on the one hand, and the growing interdependences among the states of the world, on the other hand, are placing new, often unforeseeable tasks before the revolutionary forces, which necessitates a flexible, creative application of the general truths to the specific conditions of time and place.

Starting precisely from these fundamental considerations of vital importance to revolutionary theory and practice, our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, taking into account our country's realities, are performing a continual activity of examining in various ways the conditions in which the vast work of building the socialist society is taking place, in order to find the best solutions and methods for carrying out the substantial programs for Romania's dynamic development. For nearly 2 and 1/2 decades, since he has been at the head of the Communist Party and the Romanian state, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has made an inestimable contribution to enriching with new theses of great theoretical value the theoretical and ideological treasury of the revolutionary view. Faithful to and consistent with this view's true spirit, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the speech given toward the end of last year at the Moscow meeting of the leaders and representatives of the communist, workers, socialist, and social-democratic parties, other progressive political forces, and the national liberation movements, restated the basic principles that support it and give it vitality: "Life itself has demonstrated that in building the socialist society it is not possible to act except in accordance with the realities, taking into account the general laws and the principles of scientific socialism, applying them realistically to the concrete situation in each country. All the more, the solution to the various problems, including those regarding the transition to socialism, the forging of socialism in a number of new states, must absolutely take into account these realities; however, the unity of the working class, of the peasantry, of the intelligentsia, of the people, must represent the essential thing. Without the people it is not possible to construct socialism, it is not possible to secure independence and free development."

Only the continual and direct connection with life, the complete identification with the people's ideals, confers on the revolutionary view an ever greater force, capable of fructifying its effect on the course of a world already subject to unprecedented historical determinism. The greatest homage that can be paid to the creators and promoters of this view is the creative development and application of it for the benefit of man and humanity.

12105/09599

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Doubts About Economic Reform Voiced
23000080 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 3 May 88 p 12

[Article by Jacqueline Henard: "The Fourth Attempt"]

[Text] In Prague slang they are called "wekslaks." They are not a Czech specialty. They are also found in East Berlin and Sofia, you can meet one or another even in Budapest. But nowhere else in Eastern Europe do they lie in wait in such dense groups for Western tourists than in Wenceslas Square: "Change? Exchange? DM?"

Right now the DM-seller gets Kcs16 on the street, sometimes even Kcs16.5 for DM1. The State Bank offers Kcs5.15. Czech citizens, to the extent that they are even allowed to have foreign currencies, pay Kcs13 there for DM1; with a black market dealer they have to expect a market exchange rate of Kcs20. Thus, a foreign exchange trafficker pockets Kcs4 or 20 percent. That is his risk premium—because dealing in foreign exchange is illegal. Even if nowadays the police stand right next to the dealers and definitely pay no attention to them.

What is the official explanation for the lively unofficial foreign currency business? As he reaches for his cigarettes the question is clearly painful for the director of the State Bank's foreign department. On the other hand, Miroslav Pavel, the new government spokesman, is not flustered for a moment. There is black market trading. But it can be eliminated only with the help of a convertible currency. This is not simple, but the timetable is set.

Even in Prague the mood is different. In the past 6 months here and there 40- and 50-year old people have replaced the proponents of the hard orthodox line. In economic policy men like Miroslav Pavel, a graduate economist and learned business journalist, have gained in influence. And they call a spade a spade.

An advisor to the premier has been concerning himself with the many forms of gray and black marketeering which have developed in Czechoslovakia. Without being asked the government spokesman anticipates the logical conclusion of this task: it can be regulated, broken up only through "market conditions." Pavel speaks German well. He knows the fine distinction between "market" and "goods-money relationships" and, without saying the word, he also means the firmly entrenched corruption when he says that "conditions similar" to those in the money sector prevail "also in and between the big enterprises." Yet it is "funny," for example, that inns are always fully booked yet make no profit.

The extensively monopolized economy acts "worn out." Enterprises could work their way out of the various compulsory associations if that made economic sense. To be sure, "in this matter we do not want to speak of

rivalry, rather of competition." If need be, the government intends to support enterprises against the bureaucrats who are unwilling to be separated. According to what businessmen say, these people at least take reform efforts so seriously that they fear for their jobs and behave as inconspicuously as possible. Among other things, this means that the fewest possible decisions are made. Western observers, therefore, fear that the predicted low growth rate of 2 percent will not be achieved in this year of perestroika announcements.

Economic reason suggests basic reforms. Czechoslovakia's tradition-bound industry, which at the end of the 1960's was still a partner in the development of the socialist economic bloc, has distanced itself from the demands of the West, the East and even its own country to the point where it hurts. An absurd result of rigid economic planning by way of example: While there is a lack of consumer goods and replacement parts in all quarters, industrial products worth Kcs650 billion, which is more than the national income for 1 year, are stored in warehouses and are unmarketable.

The word in Prague is that the economy must be opened up to foreigners. Industry must invest in more modern plants and to do this it not only needs Western cooperation and licenses, but also credits. It is the basic theme in today's East-European self-representation which can now be heard in Prague: The difficulties are no longer denied point-blank, solutions are being sought with the help of world market forces.

The openness has a refreshing effect on Western visitors. What do Czech citizens think of the plans for reform? Some 20 years after the end of the "Prague Spring" is their mind open to a program which pursues similar plans under a different name? Students at Charles University recently interrupted a lecture on "perestroika" in Czechoslovakia by laughing. When the speaker wanted to hear the joke, a student called to him: "The plans are as good as the idea of opening a new brothel using old whores." Often a second version of this bitter joke can also be heard, just as crude, against the old supporters of the new reform program: You cannot make a pigsty into a villa and leave the pig in it.

Vice Minister Ladislaus Matejka, the person in the presidium of ministers who is responsible for economic reform, considers the new plans as the "most perfect and most hopeful attempt" in the economic history of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The initiatives in 1958, 1966 to 1968 and at the beginning of the 1980's did not have such complexity. This time the "international conditions" are present, that is, the simultaneousness of reform programs in the most important partner countries. Reform had previously been essential.

The government spokesman is quoting Premier Strougal; in January, to the surprise of Western listeners, he had suddenly conceded that the reforms were "20 to 25 years late in coming." According to Matejka, they must be

directed by the Communist Party because restructuring the economy involves not only popular measures, but also conflicts. Thus, it is possible only "with a party and government which enjoys the confidence of the people."

Does the government enjoy the necessary confidence? Vice Minister Matejka concedes that "that is the most delicate of all the questions." Almost apologetically he adds that people should not, however, expect him to say no. People expect "something to be happening even in the central office."

The party newspaper is now sometimes sold out, especially if articles from the Soviet Union are reprinted. Many issues of the Moscow journal OGONYOK are traded at black market prices in Prague. Occasionally in their own newspapers, for example the Communist Party's journal, there are critical discussions of developments in their own country. An outsider, who has come to an agreement with the regime, says that the people still do not have faith in their self-appointed leadership. They doubt the truth of small official statements. Recently the evening news reported on the fire in a paper factory and at the end announced that the future supply of toilet paper (a product traditionally in short supply) had not been affected by it. Not a roll was to be found in all of Prague the next morning.

12124

POLAND

Direct Enterprise Contacts Expand Polish-Soviet Export Possibilities

26000267b Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
9 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by regular correspondent Henryk Chadzynski: "Direct Contacts Between Polish and Soviet Enterprises: Opportunities and Requirements"]

[Text] Moscow. March. Although the beginning was recent, the results are already significant. Barely a few months ago the Rudniev Computer Control Machinery Plants in Orlo gained the right to enter into direct cooperation with foreign firms, and already today the exchange they are engaging in with the Polish enterprise of Mera-Blonie represents an important partner. This shows the need for contacts of this sort through which people in both firms can reach necessary agreements right away without having to call on an intermediary or ask for permission. It is worth adding that this is being done for both technical agreements and economic and pricing agreements. In addition, in setting prices no foreign-exchange conversions have been necessary, because it was possible to use the components' proportion of the value of the final product.

It is estimated that in 1988 each partner will execute orders worth 10 million rubles for the other partner. Orlo will supply the plant at Blonie in the suburbs of Warsaw

with electronic subassemblies for printers. In exchange, Mera-Blonie is to provide a consistent supply of precision mechanical equipment needed for these same printers. Through the division of tasks, each partner will be able to increase its own scale of production while simultaneously reducing costs. Each of them will concentrate on its own specialty, which it produces better and more inexpensively.

During the past 3 years the Metronex foreign trade center has tripled its trade with the Soviet market, reaching an export level of 350 million rubles. There is no way to expect to increase exports to 500 million rubles, as planned for the end of this five-year period, without taking advantage of the new tendencies in the economy of the USSR along with the opportunities provided by direct contacts with plants.

In this sort of electronics direct relationships between partners are often actually a condition to effective mutual cooperation, because when intermediaries were used various sorts of equivocation entered into the agreements on essential technical details, and alongside this one could never count on getting the agreement settled as quickly as the matter required. Without this decentralization of authority, which has occurred within the framework of "perestroika," there would be neither the above-mentioned agreement making the cheaper production of printers possible nor cooperation between the Kiev Elektromash Industrial Association and the Polish producers of computer peripherals. Components from Polish plants are used in many items of equipment produced in Kiev. On the other hand, because of processors produced in Kiev, the Era plants outside Warsaw can build the systems which, after all, they export to the West. When Metronex in Kiev sets up a meeting of the partners, Arnold Nazarov, director in chief of the Elektromash Industrial Association, also takes with him representatives of other Soviet plants which participate in the cooperation as subcontractors or customers, because today he is an independent operator and decides by himself who is to take part in the talks. Two intermediate bodies have disappeared, the ministry and the foreign trade center. Konstanty Zdanski, head of the Metronex delegation in Moscow, emphasized the significance of this fact. Before, even if the two groups operated with utmost efficiency, it was difficult to handle all the agreements on a current basis using them as intermediaries. Under the Soviet foreign trade arrangement, a system was set up years ago in which the producer played a secondary role to the foreign trade center. The producer was merely supposed to carry out the trade agency's orders. Under the reform, the roles have changed. At the same time the barriers to technical and economic information are disappearing.

Jerzy Slawinski, the Metronex delegation's deputy director for trade, says that the new principles have made it possible during the past few days to enter into a cooperation agreement with the Institute of High Pressure Physics in Moscow. It is a question of supplying Poland

with equipment to work extremely hard material in exchange for computer equipment from the Mera-Blonie plants. Formerly such equipment had to be imported from the West for foreign-exchange currency. Without the possibility of direct contact, none of the Polish partners would have known that the Moscow plant was producing the product we are looking for. Likewise, at the Soviet institute the appearance of a partner ready to supply the necessary computer equipment right away in exchange for its product represented an opportunity. After all, everyone knows how long the wait would be if the order were placed in the old way, applying for the necessary foreign-exchange currency, and then going to the foreign trade center to ask for imports and then waiting, waiting and waiting.

In the new situation geographic changes are also being made in foreign trade in the USSR. Even today it is not enough to have good contacts with a single Soviet trade center, because within the industrial branches themselves competition has arisen between trade firms, and there are also producers on the market that have been granted the right to trade directly with foreign partners. Therefore, it is necessary to penetrate the market, in order to find a partner with which to cooperate. It is not always a question of immediately coming to an agreement for direct cooperation. The contacts often begin with initial agreements, during which the partners try to verify each other's reliability and production capabilities.

Here we can present the example of partner cooperation between the Computer Institute in Warsaw and the Electronic Control Machinery Institute in Moscow, the leading body in the realm of automatic control systems in the USSR. They started with joint programming and development of network modules. Agreements were also made on which modules are needed and how they should be developed. The roles were distributed between them. The results of the work are an opportunity for the producers, provided, of course, that our industry does not let the opportunity slip, because considerable deliveries are involved.

Unfortunately, our producers are not always aware of the scale of the future business. They do not always have a suitable subassembly base, and they often lack flexibility. The principle of economic accounting meanwhile forces Soviet enterprises to calculate, to limit supplies, and to be thrifty. In signing an agreement they want delivery not during the last month of the quarter or the last quarter of the year but on the basis of consistent ongoing shipments, in order to avoid warehousing costs and amassing large reserves just because the partner prefers to send everything all at once. New market realities are appearing. Elements of competition with partners from other countries, including socialist ones, trying to situate themselves as a permanent supplier.

Direct contacts therefore provide great opportunity, but at the same time, along with the change in economic

realities, there are usually also greater expectations, technical, qualitative, and economic. All this has to be taken into account, if we want to expand exports.

10790

Hungarian Official for Religious Affairs Visits
26000288e Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
30 Mar 88 p 2

[Article: "Meeting on the Subject of Religious Policy in Hungary"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Office of Religious Affairs, Secretary of State Imre Miklos, chairman of the Hungarian state office of religious affairs, arrived on 29 March at the Hungarian embassy and met with a group of Polish journalists. He familiarized them with the state of church-state relations in Hungary and with the tenets of religious policy in that country. For many years this policy has had as its goal the normalization of state relations with the church and religious groups.

10790

Domestic Trade Minister Plans To Expand Contacts With Cuba
26000285a Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
30 March 88 p 9

[Article by Anna Sielanko, special correspondent in Havana: "Greater Trade With Cuba: Prospects for Expanding Tourist Contacts"]

[Text] Jerzy Jozwiak, the Polish government's minister of the domestic market, visited Cuba on 23-28 March, at the invitation of Manuel Vila Sosa, minister of domestic trade. The purpose of the visit was to broaden trade between Cuba and Poland, and also, in conjunction with the internal market ministry's assumption of new functions, the holding of talks concerning possibilities for the two countries' further expansion of tourist exchange and trade in the realm of the raw materials and other materials.

During Minister J. Jozwiak's visit to Havana, he was received by Antonio Esquivel, the Cuban government's deputy premier and minister of light industry. The meeting served as an occasion for the exchange of information on the two countries' economic situation and for an in-depth discussion of the possibilities for bolstering trade contacts advantageous to Poland and Cuba's domestic markets.

The Polish-Cuban talks resulted in concrete decisions providing, for example, for expanding trade this year to 10 million rubles and for defining the long-range prospects for further expansion in coming years.

The Cuban side presented a display of models of articles destined for trade, including cotton clothing, tropical fruit products and juices, decorative items, liquor, cigarettes, marble tile, and enamels (glazura). Cuba will also export additional quantities of citrus and coffee to the Polish market. In exchange, the Polish side will supply cosmetics, household items, knitwear, workmen's rubber footwear, and the like.

In order to present Polish business men with a wider assortment of Cuban goods which could result in future trade, representatives of Cuban trade and industry decided to participate in the "Cooperation" International Small Manufacturing Fair, which will be held in Poznan this October. Representatives of the Cuban ministry of materials management also plan to attend, because the possibility of exchanging not only goods but also surplus raw materials (including secondary raw materials) is also being entertained.

The provisions in the realm of the development of tourism are promising. Few tourists from Poland visit Cuba during the year. The main barrier is the problem of transportation, because LOT does not have a regular route to Cuba. Polish tourist bureaus avail themselves of neighboring countries' air lines, but this is very limited. It was decided that Orbis and Lot representatives would visit Cuba soon to seek with Cuban partners possibilities for allowing a larger number of people to participate in these trips.

During his visit to Cuba, Minister Jozwiak met with Maj Gen Senen Casas. There was an exchange of views concerning the two countries' political and economic situation and the long-range prospects for the development of cooperation and the deepening of friendship between Poland and Cuba. Czeslaw Dega, the Polish ambassador to Cuba, was also present at the meeting.

10790

Economic Talks With Somalia
26000288d Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
30 Mar 88 p 2

[Article: "Polish-Somalian Cooperation"]

[Text] On 29 March, Wladyslaw Gwiazda, minister of economic cooperation with foreign countries, met with Basi Mohamed Sufi, the newly appointed ambassador from the Somalian Democratic Republic. They discussed the possibilities for developing trade and economic relations between the two countries.

10790

International, Economic Talks With Tanzania
26000288b Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
30 Mar 88 p 8

[Article: "Polish-Tanzanian Cooperation"]

[Text] Dar Es-Salam (PAP). Jan Majewski, Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MSZ) was in the United Republic of Tanzania this 28-29 March. Receiving him was Tanzania's President Joseph Warioba. The assessment of the state of Polish-Tanzanian relations made during the talks cast a favorable light on developing political cooperation. The need to seek forms of mutually beneficial economic cooperation was emphasized.

J. Majewski met with P. Rupia, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the president's office. The talks focused on matters related to bilateral cooperation and the two countries' joint efforts in the international arena.

During the talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs there was a comprehensive review of Polish-Tanzanian relations, and views were exchanged on major international and regional issues. Views on these issues were found to be identical. The Polish side confirmed Poland's consistent support for frontal states, including Tanzania, in the face of the aggression directed against them by the Republic of South Africa, and for their struggle to eliminate apartheid and to liberate Namibia. The Tanzanian side expressed great praise for the solidarity that Poland and other socialist countries have shown the African countries and the national liberation movements in southern Africa. It was pointed out that further direct cooperation is needed between African states and socialist countries for development of a just and lasting regulation of affairs in southern Africa and that the elimination of apartheid should be a fundamental component.

The subject of bilateral economic relations was discussed with the deputy ministers of power and natural resources, industry and trade, and finance. The possibility of having Polish enterprises participate in a program for economic reconstruction of Tanzania on the basis of bilateral benefits, including their involvement in investments being carried out on the basis of international funds, was discussed in detail.

The Tanzanians expressed great interest in the process of the reforms in Poland, especially the economic ones.

10790

NBP Credit Regulations Spur Opposition
26000267a Warsaw *ZYCIE WARSZAWY* in Polish
9 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Solarz: "First Step: New Bank in Lodz?"]

[Text] Four months ago an informational meeting was held for directors of Lodz enterprises. During the meeting an instigating group making the first step to create

the Lodz Development Bank (Lodzki Bank Rozwoju, S.A.) put down its cards. There was a public presentation of a carefully prepared, well-grounded draft of the new bank's organizational and operating principles. The initiative fell on fertile ground. The directors at the meeting expressed great interest in the idea. Shortly after this meeting the first declarations came in expressing readiness to buy stock in the new bank or to take future advantage of credit from it or other services.

The authors of the proposal were not surprised at the unequivocal support from numerous units of the socialized economy looking for a more effective and more advantageous system of credit for their turnover and investments.

What was revealed here was the opposition to the old credit methods of the Polish National Bank (NBP), and this is an expression of the fact that there are other views concerning the credit activity of banks.

NBP's sanctioning of the principle of what is called "difficult credit," based on the assumption that credit is a cause of inflation and therefore its use should be restricted, is being criticized, because this approach keeps credit from being increased. The authors of the new bank idea think that the goal should be to create conditions making it possible to extend immediate credit for highly profitable operations. Anyone who applies for credit with such justification for his plans should receive it. Of course, first one must supply assurances that timely repayment of the installments can be made along with sizeable interest on the credit granted. According to the expectations, the founders of the new bank will be a source of income for the stockholders. The calculations are that the dividends paid will be above 12 percent, which is what the NBP pays units of the socialized economy on capital that is deposited.

The new bank's capital, coming from stockholders with ready cash available will be the source of the credit granted and of financing for other purposes. There are no plans to commit funds from the state treasury.

The founders' plenipotentiary Jan Lucki has plans relating to the future of the Lodz Development Bank. "We will be able to new finance production or municipal ventures in their entirety," he says. "Even today we are conducting studies related to setting up a plant to recycle solid waste in Lodz and an enterprise to handle the air pollutants intercepted by the filters in the huge chimneys of electric plants. Nor is it surprising that the City Administration of Lodz is one of the founders. In all a total of 30 percent of the future bank's stock is to be sold to municipal authorities." [words missing] ... [The members] of the founding group represent various fields of production or services and just about all forms of social ownership. Among them are enterprises that are well-known and have great production potential, such as Uniontex in Lodz and Chemitex-Wistom in Tomaszow Mazowiecki, along with "Zjednoczenie" Knitwear

Cooperative, the above-mentioned City Administration of Lodz, and the Society for Support of Economic Initiative. They will start out with 1 billion zlotys in founding capital. As a commercial bank they are counting on quickly multiplying it.

Meanwhile the process of registering the bank is speeding up. Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers received the request "on the matter of creating the Lodz Development Bank," which Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, head of the National Council of the Society for Support of Economic Initiative, sent to him. The premier's reply came back in 3 days finding the initiative to be "interesting and worth supporting." At the same time the head of the government stated that the request had been sent to NBP president Wladyslaw Baka for "close scrutiny of the formal and substantive aspects of the matter." The applicable law requires that the bank council issue an opinion concerning the usefulness of creating a new bank. In essence its opinion has the nature of agreeing to competition, which, under the conditions of the reform, was elevated to the rank of an operating principle. The requesting parties have no doubt that Prof Baka has the reform's success close to his heart.

The initiative to create the bank has gain powerful sponsors. This is not surprising, because it is consistent with the reorganization of the banking system planned by the central officials. It is planned that commercial credit banks with the status of state banks or shareholders' banks will be created during the second stage of the economic reform in 1988. In Lodz the first step has been taken along this road.

10790

Self-Management Consultative Group in State Enterprises

Planning Commission Instructions

26000356a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (REFORMA GOSPODARCZA Supplement) in Polish No 130, 28 Apr 88 pp 1, 11

["Order No 7 of the chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers dated 14 April 1988 regarding the appointment of a Consultative Group of Representatives of Self-Management Crews of State Enterprises"]

[Text] With a view to taking the input of workforce self-management in state enterprises into account in reviewing and developing arrangements aimed at implementing the guidelines for the second stage of economic reform and directions for the socio-economic policy of our country, with the consent of the chairman of the Sejm Commission on Self-Management and pursuant to article 3, paragraph 4 of the office charter of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, constituting an

appendix to Resolution No. 2 of the Council of Ministers dated 11 January 1988 on granting a charter to the office of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, the following is decreed:

Article 1.

1. A Consultative Group of Representatives of the Workforce Self-Management in State Enterprises is constituted as an advisory and consultative organ for the chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, henceforth referred to as "the group."

2. Chairmen of employee councils at enterprises enumerated in the appendix to the present order are members of the group.

Article 2.

1. The task of the group is to express its views on draft laws, executive orders and other legal acts introducing the arrangements of the second stage of economic reform.

2. The group also expresses its views on matters other than those referred to in paragraph 1, specifically:

a) targets of the long-range plan,

b) scenarios of the concept of the national socio-economic plan,

c) targets of the central annual financial and material plan,

d) draft annual evaluations of the implementation of the economic reform.

Article 3.

1. The chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers will nominate the chairman and secretary of the group from among the members of the group. The chairman manages the work of the group; the secretary convenes its meetings.

2. The group operates in plenary meetings.

3. The chairman of the group may nominate permanent and ad-hoc topical commissions for preparing draft position papers on issues from the agenda of plenary meetings; these commissions may also include functionaries of the workforce self-management in state enterprises who are not members of the group.

Article 4.

1. The position papers referred to in article 2 are transmitted to the chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers by the chairman of the group.

2. Information on the content of position papers by the group is prepared for use in the mass media by the press spokesman for the chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers.

Article 5.

1. A representative of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers takes part in the meetings of the group.

2. The chairman of the group may invite authors of materials on the agenda of proceedings to take part in the meetings of the group in order to offer requisite explanations of the documents reviewed.

Article 6.

1. The expenses of the group are paid from the budget of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers.

2. The cabinet of the chairman will ensure clerical support for the group.

Article 7. The order takes effect on the day of signing.

Appendix: List of Enterprises

1. The Bialystok Cotton Industry Enterprise "Fasty" in Bialystok.

2. The "Oswiecim" Chemical Enterprise in Oswiecim.

3. "Eltra" Radio Enterprise in Bydgoszcz.

4. The State Farm Combine in Nacpolsk.

5. The Conglomerate of Producers of Power Industry Machines and Equipment MEGAT in Warsaw.

6. Synthetic Fiber Enterprises "Stilon" in Gorzow Wielkopolski.

7. The Baildon Steel Mill in Katowice.

8. Subcompact Car Works—Enterprise No. 2 in Tychy.

9. Machine Tool Factory "Rafamet" in Kuznia Raciborska.

10. Chemical Equipment and Industrial Fittings Enterprise "Chemar" in Kielce.

11. The Provincial Enterprise of Domestic Trade in Siedlce.

12. Silk Industry Enterprise "Miranda" in Turek.

13. The State Farm Combine in Drawsko.

14. The Krakow Pharmaceutical Enterprise "Polfa" in Krakow.
15. The Glogow Copper Smelter in Zukowice.
16. The State Cattle Breeding Center in Gorzyn.
17. The M. Buczek Ball Bearings Factory in Krasnik.
18. The "First of May" Widzew Cotton Industry Enterprise in Lodz.
19. The Silesian Tanning Industry Enterprise "Otmec" in Krapkowice.
20. Lighting Fixtures Enterprise "Polam—Pila" in Pila.
21. Synthetic Fiber Enterprise "Chemitex—Wistom" in Tomaszow Mazowiecki.
22. The H. Cegielski Metalworking Industry Enterprise in Poznan.
23. Communications Equipment Works "PZL-Rzeszow" in Rzeszow.
24. Foundry Equipment Enterprise "Fumos" in Skiernewice.
25. Northern Enterprise of the Tanning Industry "Alka" in Slupsk.
26. The "Stalowa Wola Steel Mill" Combine in Stalowa Wola.
27. Agricultural and Industrial Combine "Igloopol" in Debica.
28. Synthetic Fiber Enterprise "Elana" in Torun.
29. The A. Warski Szczecin Shipyard in Szczecin.
30. The Warsaw Data Processing Equipment Enterprise "Metamat" in Warsaw.
31. Cathode Ray Tube Enterprise "Unitra-Polkolor" in Piaseczno.
32. The Olsztyn Enterprise of Car Tires "Stomil" in Olsztyn.
33. "Transbud-Wloclawek" Transportation and Equipment Enterprise of the Construction Industry in Wloclawek.
34. "Elwro" Electronics Enterprise in Wroclaw.
35. The Jelcz Car Works "Jelcz" in Jelcz.

Mandate, Tasks Noted

26000356 Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA (REFORMA GOSPODARCZA Supplement)* in Polish No 130, 28 Apr 88 p 1

[Article by Jerzy Gniewaszewski, adviser to the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers in the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] A presentation by First Secretary of the PZPR CC, Chairman of the Council of State, Gen. Army Wojciech Jaruzelski at a meeting with representatives of the workforce self-management at the office of the Council of Ministers on 20 February 1988 gave the immediate impulse for the chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers to set up the Consultative Group of Representatives of the Workforce Self-Management in State Enterprises.

It may also be acknowledged that this is a consequence of a government declaration contained in "The Implementation Program for the Second Stage of the Economic Reform," transmitted to the Sejm in October of last year, which in part reads: "...self-management is a basic feature of the socialist way of [economic] management; therefore, all forms of self-management, especially territorial and workforce self-management, should be developed and strengthened." We also find a confirmation of the increasing role of workforce self-management in the February resolution of the Sejm on the implementation program of the second stage of the economic reform and the operation of workforce self-management in state enterprises.

The setting up of the Self-Management Consultative Group is thus an expression of the fundamental role of self-management in shaping new production relationships as well as the acknowledgement of its achievements to date. The group provides an opportunity for workforce self-management in state enterprises to participate, through its representatives, in reviewing and shaping the arrangements aimed at implementing the planks of the second stage of economic reform and directions for the socio-economic policy.

The basic task of the group would be to express its views of draft laws, executive orders and other legal acts introducing new arrangements of the second stage of the economic reform and guidelines for long-range and annual plans, as well as evaluations of the implementation of economic reforms. It is planned that the group will work at plenary sessions. On the basis of the favorable experience of the Youth Consultative Group, which has been operating for several years under the chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, the opportunity has been envisaged to set up permanent and ad-hoc topical commissions. This should make it possible not only to develop a position for the plenary meeting of the group in a more comprehensive fashion, but also to broaden the scope of workforce self-management bodies and enable them to directly transmit their

views, opinions and propositions to the center through the participation of self-management functionaries who are not members of the group in the work of such commissions.

In setting up the group, much attention has been paid to both its numerical strength and its representative character, with a view to having the opportunity of treating the opinions stated as characteristic of the community of the workforce self-management. The result of such considerations, to which the stand taken by the chairman of the Sejm Self-Management Commission was essential, brought about the nomination of a group consisting of representatives of 35 workforce self-management bodies in state enterprises, enumerated in the appendix to the order issued, with the consent of the chairman of the Sejm Self-Management Commission. The mention in this appendix of enterprise names only is to confirm that chairmen of employee councils will participate in the group as representatives of self-management of these enterprises, expressing the opinion of their community.

The results of work by the group will be presented to the chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers by the chairman of the group, and the public will learn about their content through information given to the mass media by the press spokesman of the Planning Commission.

9761

ZSMP Official Meets With Military Reservists
26000288g Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
30 Mar 88 p 2

[Article: "Military Youth Activist Group at ZSMP Main Administration"]

[Text] Jerzy Szmajdzinski, chairman of the main board of ZSMP, met on 29 March with a group of model soldiers leaving the reserves. They had questions, among other things, on the principles of ZSMP's operations during the second stage of the economic reform, as well as on the possibilities of engaging in volunteer projects.

10790

Head of Katowice Data-Processing Firm Describes Offerings, Potential
26000285b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
26-27 March 88 p 7

[Interview with Janusz Goluch, head of Pro-Info, Katowice, by Regina Dabrowska: "So That the Computer Will Not Be a Toy"]

[Text]

[Question] What is Pro-Info?

[Answer] A firm which promotes information systems in the broad sense of the word, not just in the realm of computers but also in the area of other forms of modern technology. We are operating in the sphere of the information science culture, which is leaving a great mark on the life of modern society.

We are thinking of new means of mass communication, but in daily life in the workplace we are identified with meeting documentation needs and to a certain extent programming needs too. At present we have concentrated on these areas.

[Question] Which is different from the hundreds of companies that are just offering equipment and not doing badly at it. Why?

[Answer] I would put this in the category of ethics. They are set up to make money. Of course you have to make money, and fortunately today such an attitude is being treated differently in our society, but... But money must also be "made" in an ethical way.

[Question] Which means...?

[Answer] The demand for equipment is increasing, but there is a shortage helpful literature, programs, books, even operating instructions serving as a guide for the user, which can and should help him to exploit all the computer's capabilities. Too frequently the new equipment is furniture, because, for example, we do not know foreign languages.

[Question] So in concrete terms, what are you offering?

[Answer] First of all, the development of documentation. We also have copies of the original key textbooks published in the West. We also adapt Western programs to the needs of our market.

[Question] Which means that you make them Polish?

[Answer] Yes, although this often involves developing a whole new program. For example, if the original program takes seven diskettes, our fits on three and does the same thing. So this is sort of a new product.

Recently I have been able to gather a group of people whom I would call the creators of new program languages. We are also thinking about expanding the computer's capabilities. It seems to us that we will be able to offer something that is qualitatively completely new, particularly in the realm of programming IBM computers and compatibles. But that is a trade secret.

[Question] You are operating all over the country and can observe the changes going on in this area. Is the computer fad still closer to that for a toy than to more professional applications?

[Answer] When I began operations and set up various meetings for equipment users, few came. So too my activity was geared to individual orders. Now I am seeing growth trends. The meetings set up with computer users are attracting more and more people. And my company has started cooperating with large industrial plants and with most of our country's institutions of higher education, supplying them with necessary literature, for example.

[Question] Insofar as offering equipment in Poland, there is still a great deal of individualization. You buy something here, get something there. There is no coordinated operation. Does this not produce more losses than benefits?

[Answer] I agree. In our country computerization is still what I would call a grass-roots operation, although here too even today even at the top the need, even inevitability, of general computerization is being appreciated. The spontaneous grass-roots activity has produced great benefits, first of all in awareness. Today we all know that it is not possible to avoid computerization.

[Question] That is obvious. If we want to cope with the flood of information all about us, making make full use of it and getting some benefit from it, we have to arrange our sources of information in some sort of order, make it easier to access them. The computer, among other things, serves that very purpose.

[Answer] But the computer's range of possibilities does not end there. I am trying to promote its use not only as a secretary but also in a far greater sphere. There are tremendous fields for demonstrating computers in various areas, but the first utilization of its possibilities calls for a great deal of creative work. Even today I would like to popularize the utilization of computer equipment in this very direction. The computer can help in design and in various sorts of graphic work. It could also help in the home, for example, to control various operations.

[Question] To handle your job must take excellent professional preparation in data processing.

[Answer] Not necessarily. I am more of a manager who would like to promote new things, popularize their creation, and disseminate them. On the other hand, I

employ systems people who say at the outset that they do not recognize work which is a simple reflection of things already known. To write something only in computer language is not for me.

When the papers published my advertisement saying I was employing systems people, a lot of people came forth, but after I asked the candidates whether their knowledge sufficed, for example, to produce a book, not as a translation but to develop it with their own observations, only a few individuals remained.

[Question] Would it perhaps be that here too schematism has entered into information science?

[Answer] Yes, the applicants for my jobs were convinced that it was a question of typical programming, which predominates on the market and in all the well-known fairs and exhibitions. That means that it is, let us say, a question of cost analysis, warehousing, and other improvements, because programs for these things undoubtedly are part of office work. These improvements are somehow necessary, but the customer does not have a wide choice. Hence he chooses one of the programs that is, for example, the most attractive. Like voting for Miss Poland. One is more or less like another. There is no new idea or attempt to meet the needs with one's own original idea.

[Question] So then what do you intend to offer?

[Answer] Above all, I want to help consumers. For example, I am thinking about setting up a big show, fairs, but not computer fairs, information science fairs, during which we could demonstrate new trade possibilities of use to both buyers and sellers.

The fairs up until now have been terrible stereotypes. One booth after another, one firm alongside the next. It is chaos for the consumer, who feels lost. He would like something, but he does not know where to look, or even how exactly to define his expectations. So he looks everywhere, but he usually comes out with a headache and a handful of advertising brochures which later wind up in the waste basket.

I think that this is a waste of time and money. The consumer should be taken care of and sent in a specific direction, where he can find the solution to his problems. And this is where we want to help.

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